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THE CURRENCY BILL UNDER DISCUSSION

Although more important than the revision of the tariff, the reform of the Nation's system of banking and currency has been forced by circumstances to wait upon the passage of the Tariff Bill. Now that that bill has become law, the currency question has become the chief legislative topic demanding the attention of the whole Nation. To the discussion of this question last week noteworthy contributions were made by Senator Norris, of Nebraska; the Convention of the American Bankers' Association in Boston; and Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, President of the National City Bank in New York, testifying before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency.

Senator Norris criticised the bill in one particular—namely, the composition of the Federal Reserve Board, which is to have control of the proposed system of banking and currency. He points out that, of the seven members of that Board, three are members of the Administration in power—namely, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Comptroller of the Currency—and two of the others will reach the end of their term of office during the term of each President. Thus, Senator Norris points out, any President will be able to name a majority of the Board. What Senator Norris does not specifically point out, but what is of course apparent, is that the three Cabinet members are distinctly partisan, chosen because of their party affiliation. Senator Norris emphatically says that he is "in favor of Government control, as distinguished from bank control," but he strongly believes that there should be no more than one member of the President's official family on the Federal Reserve Board—namely, the Comptroller of the Currency.

The Bankers' Convention at Boston displayed distinct hostility to the Currency Bill and to its sponsors. The acting President of the Convention, Mr. Reynolds, described the bill as "an invasion of the liberty of the citizen in the control of his own property by putting under Government management enormous individual investments and a branch of the country's business which should be left to individual effort." Its Currency Commission declared that "for those who do not believe in Socialism it is very hard to accept and ratify this proposed action on the part of the Government." The only speaker who defended the bill on Wednesday of last week, Mr. McRae, a former Congressman from Arkansas, was interrupted by shouts of contradiction and derisive laughter, and when he asked of the bankers present, "Shall we control the currency system or shall the representatives of the people?" a number of his auditors shouted, "We!" When, however, the delegates took formal action, they were more restrained in their expression, and adopted among their resolutions one that commended the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and Congress for their efforts to give this country an elastic as well as a safe currency, and pledged them hearty support toward the enactment of proper legislation to that end.

Mr. Vanderlip, in his testimony, warmly approved the "new reserve conditions" provided by the bill, although he said that they would work a hardship to the bank he represented. "I believe," said he, "I recognize the difference between economic faults and changes that may work great hardships but are nevertheless economically sound." What he regarded as real faults of the bill included the establishment of twelve regional banks instead of a single institution, the terms of the provision for bonds to take the place of those bonds by which bank notes are now secured, the inadequate inducement offered to State banks and small National banks to become members of the Federal reserve system, and the proposal to have three mem-

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bers of the Cabinet in the Federal Reserve Board.

WHAT THIS DISCUSSION SIGNIFIES

For the most part, the criticisms directed by bankers and others against the bill in its present form have to do with matters that are subordinate. This does not mean that they are unimportant, but it indicates that there is little expectation that any change will be made in the broad outlines of the bill.

A capital illustration is afforded by the nature of the criticisms now directed to the provision for the Federal Reserve Board. There is great cogency in what Mr. Vanderlip and Senator Norris said about the inclusion of three members of the Administration in the Federal Reserve Board, and we think that consideration should be given to Mr. Vanderlip's suggestion that the terms of the members of that Board should be lengthened. But—and this is most significant—the broad and vital principle concerning the nature of that Board has been established and accepted beyond any probability of change; namely, that the Board shall be constituted and controlled not by the banks but by the Government. If the selection from the membership of the Administration for membership on the Federal Reserve Board be confined to one, we believe there is reason for making that one the Secretary of Agriculture. This bill is one which provides for basing the currency on the real wealth of the country, and especially upon the direct products of the soil; and therefore the expert knowledge of the Secretary of Agriculture would be of special value to the members of the Federal Reserve Board. This, however, is a matter wholly secondary in importance. What is of primary importance is that the Board itself should be representative, not of the interests it is to control, but of the Government, that should be in control of all interests.

So, such questions as whether the stock of the regional reserve banks should be held by the member banks or should be subscribed for publicly, whether the interest on the proposed new bond issue is high enough and the dividend on the stock of the regional reserve banks is limited to too low a figure, and whether the proposed notes shall bear the name of the Government or of the banks, are all subordinate. Some of them are important and affect the working of the bill as a practical measure; but they take second place beside such questions as whether the currency of the country shall be in the control of the bankers or of all the people of the country, and whether the currency of the country shall be based upon its debts or upon its real wealth.

This bill is of such vital consequence that no discussion over details, even though some of them may be important details, should be allowed to obstruct its reasonably prompt passage. It ought not to be regarded as a partisan measure. The members of Congress, and specifically the Senators of the United States, who are now charged with the responsibility of providing a proper currency system for this country, ought, in consideration of this measure, to rise above party feelings, and ought to disdain to use this measure as a means of securing some alleged party advantage.

A STEP BACKWARD IN THE PHILIPPINES

The announcement was made in the inaugural address of Mr. Francis Burton Harrison, the new Governor-General of the Philippines, at Manila on October 6, that hereafter in the Philippine Commission a majority would be Filipinos. No doubt this expresses a sincere desire for the welfare of the people of the Philippines, but it grows out of a wrong conception of the present conditions and will result in hindering and not in helping their advance.

The Commission is appointive, and at present only three of the nine members are natives. It acts as the upper house of the Legislature, and practically exercises a veto power over the Assembly, the members of which are elected by the people. Under the new plan complete lawmaking power (subject only to reversal by Congress) will be in the hands of native politicians. That the Filipino who has political ambitions does not really represent; in most cases, the people at large was shown conclusively, we think, in the recent article in The Outlook by Mr. O. Garfield Jones on "Filipino Politicians and Independence," and this view is confirmed by other writers, as by the letter from an American business man in "The Reader's View" of this issue of The Outlook, who asserts positively that the great mass of Filipinos do not care anything about political independence. Mr. Jones, in the article referred to above, tells of one member of the Assem-

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bly who was found guilty of murder after his election, and comments on this and other like cases: "We might just as well expect our oldest politicians to abolish the 'pork barrel' as to expect the older generation of Filipinos to run a clean government." A new and better class of Filipino political leaders will in time spring up, as education goes on. In the meantime the Assembly should be a training-school for political action, with the Commission to act in large measure as teachers and with ultimate power. The new plan makes the pupils also the teachers. American steadfastness, fairness, and efficiency are the lessons to be taught. Not now nor for some years, probably many years, to come will the need of guidance and instruction cease. It is worse than unwise, it is reckless, to be blind to actual conditions.

President Wilson, whose very words were repeated by Governor-General Harrison as a message to the Filipinos, declared that every step taken would be with a view to ultimate independence, and that as a preparation for it this new plan was such a step and was made in view of the safety and permanent interests of the islands. It is, in fact, a step backward. It puts responsibility where it can least well be sustained; it assumes an advance in native character and ability of which there is no evidence; it removes final decision in important matters to Washington, whereas it should be in Manila.

THE ELECTION IN MEXICO

The political situation in Mexico is puzzling in the extreme. The date for the Presidential election was fixed some time ago as October 26, but there may be an attempt to postpone it by the action of Congress. The three candidates in the field, portraits of whom appear elsewhere in this issue, are Federico Gamboa, Felix Diaz, and Manuel Calero; the first is the candidate of the Catholic party, the second of the so-called Labor party, the third of the Liberal party or a section of it.

The parties in Mexico are in such a condition of change and flux that it is not easy to say precisely what principles or what line of action the candidates represent. Gamboa is understood to have the support of the Huerta element; he was not in Mexico when the Madero murders took place, and would not be so obnoxious as Felix Diaz to many Mexicans or to President Wilson's Administration. Gamboa is a man of marked ability, and as Huerta's Minister of Foreign Affairs conducted the correspondence with Mr. John Lind, President Wilson's special agent; his papers at this time, though turgid in style and not very respectful, were cleverly combative, and no doubt have added to his popularity in Mexico. The vote for Gamboa will probably go far outside the lines usually accorded to a candidate of the Church party. Practically he may be called the Conservative candidate. Felix Diaz, besides being the "nephew of his uncle," is a soldier and ex-chief of police, was a leader (or a *particeps criminis*, as one chooses to call it) in the overthrow of Madero. For a long time it was thought certain that he would succeed Huerta, but when he was sent to Japan the belief was that Huerta was trying to get rid of him. It has even been rumored that Huerta did not mean to let Felix Diaz re-enter Mexico—at latest advices Diaz was on his way to Vera Cruz. The Mexican Labor party favors a readjustment of landownership and abolishment of the servile peonage. Calero was Ambassador to Washington under Madero, but resigned before the clash came; he is a lawyer, and has been described as having "a nerve of steel, a heart of adamant, and a triple-action brain." Calero's nomination was irregular in form; he is not acceptable to the former Maderists, and one or more other Liberal candidates may be in the field.

The insurgents in northern Mexico under Carranza and other leaders will prevent elections in many districts and they denounce any attempt at an election while war is going on as contrary to the Constitution.

One peculiarity of Mexican elections not generally understood here is that the people at the polls choose electors, one each for a very small district, and that these electors meet in what may be called the county towns and vote there for President and Vice-President; so that Mexico's "electoral college" may cast as many as twenty thousand votes. The enormous extent of illiteracy and political indifference gives the national administration and the provincial officials every opportunity to influence the result. The recent Cabinet changes in Mexico seem to be partly against the Felix Diaz influence and partly a strengthening of the Huerta personal control.

In the military field the event of greatest recent importance is the capture by the insurgents, under General Vila, of the

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important city of Torreon—often called the key to northern Mexico—and the occupation by the Federal forces of Piedras Negras, near our boundary and just opposite the Texan town of Eagle Pass, into which insurgent refugees fled. The capture of Torreon is said to have been followed by wholesale "executions" and even by massacre.

A "SENTIMENTAL LOBBY"

A strenuous attempt has been made to push through the Senate the bill which passed the House granting the city of San Francisco the right to build a dam in the Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite Park; it has been held back by the opposition of a small group of Republicans, and has gone over to the next session. Congress has been deluged with thousands of protests against the passage of the bill on the ground that it would involve the destruction of one of the most beautiful parts of one of the most beautiful of the National parks. Senator Pitman, of Nevada, who has the measure in charge, must be a humorist, though of the unconscious kind; he has discovered a new kind of lobby, a "sentimental lobby." When challenged to name the lobbyists behind this attack on the independence of the National Legislature, he mentioned Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, "a Mr. Whitney, and a Mr. Parsons." He conceded that the lobby is not an insidious one; but asserted that many worthy people have been misled and legislators have been influenced. "Sentimental lobby" is a valuable addition to the political phraseology of the country. It means those people who stand for the rights of a nation against the impatience of a city anxious at once to secure additional water resources without paying for them, or the greed of selfish interests of one kind or another. Mr. Johnson has rendered conspicuous service to the people of the United States. Such lobbyists are sorely needed to defend the interests of the Nation against ignorance, cupidity, and lack of vision in dealing with great public possessions.

The valley which would be destroyed is, according to Mr. John Muir, who is also a sentimental lobbyist, second in beauty only to the Yosemite itself. It belongs to the Nation. Its value will increase each year. The attempt to divert it from its use and to destroy its beauty is really a confiscation of a very valuable possession of the whole country. If the bill reaches the President, it is to be hoped that the Chief Executive, who represents all the people of the country and not a party, will give careful consideration to their interests.

THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS

The Republicans and Progressives of New York State have nominated their candidates for the Court of Appeals. Now come the Democratic nominations. They are: Willard Bartlett, already on the bench of the Court of Appeals, as Chief Justice, and Abram I. Elkus as Associate Justice.

For a generation Judge Bartlett has been almost continuously on the bench. A third of that time he has been in the Supreme Court, and much of that period in the Appellate Division. He was nominated for the Court of Appeals by both Democrats and Republicans, and elected by a great vote. Every one admits that Judge Bartlett has judicial learning and judicial poise. Mr. Elkus as Associate Justice would bring to the Court an intimate knowledge of the human side of law, but he is without the traditional experience expected of a judge of that high Court.

The manner of nomination of these judges has been criticised. The Democratic candidates were nominally selected by the Democratic State Committee at a meeting in New York City—the Democratic State Committee being really Mr. Murphy, the Tammany chieftain, and his coadjutors. It has been said that there is little to choose between the Democratic Murphy machine and the Republican Barnes machine; and although the Republican candidates for the Court of Appeals were recommended for nomination by the Republican State Convention and then nominated by the State Committee of that party, the apparently more regular and orderly way of putting the candidate before the people is probably none the less a case of "putting the slate through."

A CHOICE AS TO JUDGES

Now that the three great parties in New York have nominated their candidates for the highest court of the State—each one nominating a candidate as Presiding Judge and one candidate as a member of the Court of Appeals—a brief comparison of these men is profitable.

Three men have been named as Presiding

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Judge—by the Republicans Judge Werner, now a member of the Court; by the Progressives Judge Hand, a Federal Judge in the Southern District of New York; by the Democrats Judge Bartlett, now a member of the Court of Appeals. From these three men will be chosen one to preside over the Court which decides not merely questions between individuals, weighing one claim against another, but which really has the final authority to say what the law under which the people of New York must live shall be. This Court decides what the Constitution, the highest law of the State, means; and whoever determines what a law means to that extent makes the law. It is therefore highly important that the people of New York should estimate these men not merely for their capacity to weigh conflicting claims, but for their capacity to understand the conditions of life under which laws must operate, and the bearing of such laws upon the lives of the people.

Judge Werner, the Republican candidate, is the Judge who wrote the opinion in the Ives case, in which the Court of Appeals decided that the people of New York had no right to enact a Workmen's Compensation Law. In rendering that decision Judge Werner found nothing in the letter of the Constitution which forbade it; he declared that the law was a desirable law; and yet he declared that it should not be enforced. In the course of his opinion he explicitly recognized the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States interpreted the very words that he was interpreting in exactly the contrary sense, and declared that his Court would decline to regard the United States Supreme Court as controlling the construction of those words; he declared that in practically all European countries there is no written constitution, whereas in fact practically all of the European nations have written constitutions, and upon that statement based his conclusion that this country, a supposedly free country, was not free to have the socially just laws that European countries have. If this is the kind of judge that the people of New York want to have preside over the Court that finally determines what kind of laws they shall have, they will elect him. But if they do not want this kind of judge, they should vote against Judge Werner.

Judge Hand is an experienced judge on the Federal bench. Both from his decisions and in his utterances it is indisputable that he takes a view of the law and of the Constitution which is upheld by decision after decision of the Supreme Court and of courts in other States, enabling the people to have such laws as the Workmen's Compensation Law, and recognizing that such laws are not only not contrary to the Constitution, but in fulfillment of it. Judge Bartlett, the Democratic nominee, has been a member of the Court of Appeals of the State for some years, and in the Ives case, mentioned above, although he joined with the Chief Judge in a separate opinion, concurred with Judge Werner in the decision.

Of the three candidates for membership on the Court of Appeals, Judge Hiscock, the Republican candidate, is of the type represented by Judge Werner. Judge Seabury, the Progressive candidate, is of the type represented by Judge Hand; Mr. Elkus, not having had any judicial experience, has no record on which one might base a conclusion as to what he would do on the bench, but his record as counsel for the State Factory Investigating Committee indicates that he is acquainted with the social and industrial conditions in the light of which constitutions and laws to-day must be interpreted.

Therefore, those who regard Judge Werner's decision in the Ives case as a desirable kind of decision, and the law that he made it necessary for the people of New York to live under a desirable kind of law, would naturally vote for Judge Hiscock as a member of the Court, and for either Judge Werner or Judge Bartlett as Presiding Judge; while those who regard such a decision as that of Judge Werner and his associates not only as undesirable but contrary to the spirit and purpose of the Constitution of the State and the Nation will choose their candidate for a member of the Court from between Judge Seabury and Mr. Elkus, and for Chief Judge will vote for Judge Hand.

SAFE TRAVEL AND RAILWAY MANAGEMENT

Under its new President the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad is undertaking to reform itself. The series of accidents culminating in the disastrous collision that occurred on the very day when the new President, Mr. Elliott, entered upon his duties, has made the reform of that road a matter of first impor-

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tance to the public. It is natural and it is right that the people of the States which that great railway traverses should insist that no obstacle should be allowed to stand in the way of insuring on that road a high degree of safety. Now is the time for emphasizing especially the policy of "safety first."

Both the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Public Utility Commission of Connecticut have rightly called for changes in the method of operation of the road which will make travel safer, and the State Commission has in particular prescribed physical examination of the men employed in the operation of the road to make sure of their fitness. It is obvious that this is in the interest of the safety not only of the passengers of the road but of the men who work on the trains.

In order to carry out the recommendations of the Commissions, State and Federal, the New Haven Railroad has undertaken to supplant its present inadequate signal system with one more efficient; and at the same time it has issued new rules to secure a higher approach to certainty in the selection of capable engineers. Apparently because of the promulgation of these rules the engineers of the New Haven road have been threatening to strike. The Outlook has postponed comment upon this fact because it desired to get a direct and responsible statement concerning this from the officials of the engineers' and firemen's unions; but repeated requests have elicited no reply except, at the very end of last week, the promise of a statement. It is highly possible that even now this proposed strike would not call for comment if it were not for the fact that it has been made a public matter by Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, who has declared that if a strike is called he will summon the Massachusetts Legislature to provide laws which, after providing for a method of settling grievances, should prohibit strikes on railway lines within the Commonwealth. Certainly, if the railway employees of the New Haven are contemplating a strike in remonstrance against rules promulgated in the interest of public safety, they have chosen the wrong time if they expect public sympathy. It has been asserted that the union demands that engineers be given positions not according to fitness but according to seniority. We cannot believe it possible that they have made any such demand as that. A newspaper statement purporting to come from the Brotherhoods of Engineers and Firemen declares that

> Seniority rules have been in effect upon all railroads in the Commonwealth for many years, and have been to the traveling public the greatest possible assurance that only employees of experience and tested ability could be placed in charge of trains, and we are of the firm belief that if the traveling public but realized the increased dangers that would exist under operating rules that would permit of favoritism that is not only possible but probable under the revival of old customs, it would submit to the evils incident to a strike rather than to permit of the revival of the old conditions.

The proposed rules do not disregard seniority as evidence of experience, but they do put fitness first. We believe that in the last analysis it will be found that this difficulty, like many another, is due to misunderstanding of purpose and object, and that it ought to be settled between the management and the men. The management is responsible before the law for the rules and regulations under which the road is operated; and in their own interest, as well as in the interest of the public, the employees of the railway should recognize the management's responsibility and do nothing to impair its power to meet that responsibility effectively.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR UNSENTIMENTAL REFORM

From Howard's time to the present day the prison reformer has been attacked as a sentimentalist, an ultra-humanitarian, and a dreamer. Mrs. Fry working for the unfortunate women in Newgate Prison, citizens of Georgia and Wisconsin working to abolish the system of convict leases within their States, Governor West, of Oregon, endeavoring to replace control by fear with the self-control that follows trust, have all come in for their share of abuse from "practical" men. That there is still room, however, for the activities of the prison reformer, that all prisons have not been transposed into those "summer hotels" or "winter resorts" that have been the bugbear of the ignorantly conservative, perhaps the following incident may show:

In the Harlem State Farm, Fort Bend County, Texas, twelve Negroes, serving terms of from two to five years for various kinds of burglary, failed to pick their allotted quantities of cotton. The sergeant in charge of the gang in which they worked reported to the captain in charge of the State Farm that the men were deserving of punishment. The

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captain ordered that the men should be confined in the dark cell of the Harlem camp for a period of twelve hours. The laws of the State allow a maximum of forty-eight hours. The dark cell in this particular instance is a room eight feet long, ten feet wide, and seven feet high. It is built largely underground. In the ceiling and the floor there are four small holes for the purposes of "ventilation." In this cell at six o'clock of a hot September evening the twelve men were placed. What happened can be briefly told. At five-thirty the next morning a guard opened the door. Out of the twelve Negroes immured eight were dead, asphyxiated by foul air, as the blood-stained mouths and nostrils of the dead men plainly showed. The four survivors had lived through the night by holding their places near the air vents against the struggles of their less powerful and less fortunate companions in misery. The man on guard outside this death vault that night was asked during the investigation which followed:

"Weren't you indifferent to the cries of the Negroes?" He answered, "The cries were more of a joke to me."

To compare this tragedy with that of the Black Hole of Calcutta is of course unfair to the men and the system which made it possible. The Texas cell contained three times as much air per inmate as the room in which the English victims of Suraj-ud-Dowlah suffered martyrdom. Besides, only two-thirds of the confined convicts died, against a death toll at Calcutta of over eighty-three per cent. This difference, of course, must be taken into consideration by all fair-minded people!

It should be added that the Justice of the Peace before whom the prison guards were brought declared that they could not be held on a charge of homicide. He said: "A man of ordinary prudence would readily anticipate the danger of such an act, but there the act was done in accordance with prison rules by men who had no voice in the promulgation of those rules or in the method of punishment prescribed. While the tragedy is deplorable, no offense defined by the law has been committed." The Chairman of the Texas Prison Commission added: "The hearing has brought out the facts which, I believe, bear out my contention that this regrettable tragedy was the result of ignorance. It has been a costly lesson, but it is through costly experiences that the final efficient rules of procedure are worked out. I think I am safe in saying that as long as the dark cell exists in the Texas penitentiary system such a thing will never happen again." The Outlook trusts that that Commissioner's hopes are well founded.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Within the past week New York has welcomed two religious gatherings of far-reaching importance. One—so far as the public is concerned—came not with observation. The other was probably the most widely discussed Christian assembly which has ever visited this metropolis.

The first was the annual Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. Enrolled in its ranks are 15,000 men and boys, each one solemnly pledged to daily prayer and definite personal service. The attendance at this Convention of 2,600 delegates, drawn from every part of the United States, and all vitally interested in the extension of Christ's kingdom, is a strong refutation of the popular assumption that organized Christianity has lost its hold on men.

The meeting of the triennial General Convention has been most eagerly awaited, largely by reason of the agitation for the change of the name of the Church, but it has a significance far beyond this proposal. It is too early to forecast the trend of legislation, but certain things are clear. A good deal of time will necessarily be consumed by what the late Dr. Huntington used to call "mending of nets." It is worth while noting, however, that all the constitutional amendments are designed to increase spiritual efficiency. The substitution of election for seniority in the choice of the Presiding Bishop and the relief of the Presiding Bishop from the care of a diocese will invest the office with a power of initiative and possibilities of inspiring leadership now impossible. The whole trend of legislation is markedly in the direction of centralization for efficiency.

The ecclesiastical differences have already found expression in the present gathering. The Broad and Low Churchmen have taken serious alarm at the activity of the agitation definitely to ally the Episcopal Church with what is known as the Catholic party, and in order to prevent this there is a working alliance between the Broad and Low Churchmen.

The election of the Rev. Dr. Alexander

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Mann, of Boston, as President of the House of Deputies was not the triumph of a party so much as a protest against the change of the name of the Church.

WORK AND WORSHIP

The true note of the Convention found its most worthy expression in the noble sermon preached at the opening by the successor of Phillips Brooks in the diocese of Massachusetts. Bishop Lawrence strikingly displayed all the qualities of Christian statesmanship. The sermon evidenced a remarkable knowledge of the pressing problems of American life and an unfaltering faith in the power of the Christian Church to meet those conditions. The whole service was profoundly impressive and to the thoughtful observer full of promise for the future.

The oft-repeated statement that New York is indifferent to religion was refuted by the fact that the vast spaces of the cathedral were totally inadequate to shelter the great throng that desired to join in worship. Especially impressive were the great corporate communions. At the service of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew more than fifteen hundred men went to the chancel rail; and at the service in the cathedral when the women of the Church presented their triennial offering, on Thursday morning, more than twenty-five hundred partook of the communion, and the offering sent to the chancel by the dioceses could not be counted in time to be announced at the afternoon meeting. It exceeded $307,000.

The presence of more than one hundred bishops bore eloquent witness to the extension of the Episcopal Church. From the Orient came that great Christian leader Bishop Brent. For the first time China sent three bishops and Japan two. There was not a single place within the sphere of American influence unrepresented in the episcopate. Party strife is the creature of a generation, but this Convention deepens the conviction that the prospects of the Church in America are exceedingly bright.

EUGENIC MARRIAGE LAWS

The old idea that the State was a sort of policeman to protect the individual against the encroachments of his fellow-men has been superseded by a larger conception—that of the State as the organization of the whole community for the purpose of doing for itself whatever it can do better than any individual or group of individuals can do for it. Nothing illustrates this new idea of the State better than the efforts to prevent by law injury to the race. Laws against the overworking of women in factories are of this character; for they are designed to prevent the burdens of modern industry from injuring the mothers of the generation to come. Such also are the laws, now the subject of discussion, which are designed to prevent the marriage of those who are unfit for parenthood.

A year ago thirty-four States, according to the "Survey," forbade by law the marriage of the insane, lunatic, and those incapable of consent; fifteen of them forbade the marriage of the idiotic; nine, of the epileptic; eight, of the imbecile and feeble-minded; and two, of the habitually drunk. In four States (Indiana, Michigan, Utah, and Washington) there existed laws relating to those afflicted with venereal diseases, but they received all too little obedience. During the past year, however, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin have passed drastic acts, which, to judge by the opposition offered, promise to be of practical value.

Oregon's law requires that ten days before the issuance of a marriage license there be filed a certificate granted on the oath of a duly licensed physician that the "male person" is free from infectious or contagious venereal disease. The physican is allowed a fee of two dollars and a half, and is punished for false statement by the loss of his license.

Wisconsin's law is even more drastic, and provides for "the application of the recognized clinical and laboratory tests of scientific research."

In case of a dispute the findings of the State Hygienic Laboratory are regarded as evidence. If any residents go into another State to avoid the application of this law and then return to Wisconsin within a year from the marriage, a physician's certificate is required just as if the marriage had been performed within the borders of Wisconsin. Violation of this act is rigorously punished. Failure to deposit such a certificate on the request of the District Attorney, the issuance of unlawful licenses by county clerks, and the disclosure of information relating to the application of examination except as required by law may be punished by imprisonment.

The argument that such a law as this is likely to increase the number of illegitimate

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children does not seem to us conclusive; for it would be still more cogent against any marriage law at all. If it is possible to save children from coming into this world maimed and crippled in body and in brain, and at the same time to welcome into the world vigorous children of healthy married parents, surely no doctrinaire theory about "personal liberty" should stand in the way.

Of course it will not be possible to get evidence as to all the benefits resulting from such a law. No one now knows how much women have to suffer because they are not protected as they ought to be, and so no one can know how much suffering will be saved through the enactment of that law; but it may be possible to trace some of the effect of this law in vital statistics. Of course those who are morally and intellectually the best in any community do not need such laws, while those who are morally and intellectually the worst will not heed such laws; but the great majority, who are neither very good nor very bad, will find such laws as these a moral prop and a means of education.

THE HARVARD SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

With the completion of the Panama Canal the relations between the United States and the tropics of South America will become increasingly intimate. Particularly is this statement true in regard to the Eastern seaports of the United States and the western coast of that great continent lying below the Isthmus. Many regions in South America are afflicted with grave pestilential diseases, the etiology and the method of transmission of which are alike unknown to medical science. As trade with these regions grows, the danger that these diseases may find entry into America will grow too.

Combining a natural desire to help in forestalling such a possible tragedy with a desire to broaden the bounds of medical knowledge, and to carry to our southern neighbors the lessons we have learned in Cuba and in Panama as to the advantages of preventive sanitation, the Harvard Medical School has established a Department of Tropical Medicine—the first school of its kind within the boundaries of this country. As soon as funds can be secured, Harvard also hopes to establish a hospital especially devoted to the study and treatment of tropical diseases. At present patients who have contracted diseases in the tropics not infrequently wander about the United States from hospital to hospital, until by chance they find some physician who has a knowledge of tropical medicine and who is able correctly to diagnose and treat the particular unfamiliar disease with which each happens to be afflicted. For the past six months an expedition under the leadership of Dr. Richard P. Strong, who is the head of this new school, has been actively engaged in Ecuador and Peru in securing material for laboratory work at home and in studying the bacilli of tropical disease upon their native heath.

Part of this time the expedition made its headquarters at Guayaquil, perhaps one of the worst hotbeds of disease in tropical South America. Ex-Ambassador Bryce once characterized this Ecuadorian port as "the pest-house of the continent." Another authority has said, "I have visited many of the death-holes of the world, but I have yet to find one whose unsanitary conditions equal those of Guayaquil." From investigation in such a fertile field—from the bacteriologist's standpoint—information of importance to tropical America must almost certainly result. There is an opportunity for great public service before the Harvard School of Tropical Medicine, and it could not be placed within reach of more capable hands.

A SCHOOL FOR HEALTH OFFICERS

Still another announcement of importance has come from the Harvard Medical School, this time acting in co-operation with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In recognition of the growing demand from cities and towns for men familiar with the latest discoveries in preventive medicine and the newest developments of modern sanitary engineering, these two institutions have established a graduate school for health officers.

The interest of even the most capable physician, trained in the ordinary college of medicine, is naturally directed more towards the individual than towards the public at large. He has been trained to cure cases rather than to remove causes. To ask him to lead an assault upon the strongholds of disease is in some measure like asking a surgeon to take command of troops in the field.

To the end of training a body of men capable of approaching the problem of community health from the combined standpoints

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of the physician, the civil engineer, and the sociologist, this new school offers a thorough course comprising lectures, laboratory work, and opportunities for wide practical experience. "It is recognized," says the announcement of the school, "that the requirements for public health service are broad and complicated, and that the country needs leaders in every community fitted to guide and instruct the people in the art of hygienic living; qualified to direct the expenditure of energy, time, and money in public health work into fruitful channels; and able to initiate plans to meet novel conditions as they arise. It is the object of the School for Health Officers to provide the scientific groundwork of sanitary knowledge which underlies efficient health administration. . . . The subjects embraced in the courses of study have been selected to cover a wide range, including medical, biological, hygienic, and engineering sciences, together with practical health administration."

Not the least interesting thing about this new school is the fact that the great resources of both Harvard University and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are alike open to the prospective student. Many efforts in the past have been made to bring these neighboring institutions together on some common ground. It is pleasant to record the news that they have at last found a field for active co-operation.

NEW PROFESSORIAL EXCHANGES

It is a satisfaction to announce that, in addition to the existing interchanges of professorships, an arrangement has been successfully negotiated by Columbia University to exchange with Austrian universities. The first Columbia professor to go to the University of Vienna will be George Stuart Fullerton, Professor of Philosophy, who will speak to the Austrians on "The Realistic Philosophy of Experience," on "The Modern Growth of Thought in England and the United States," and on "The Administration of American Universities." Dr. Fullerton will also lecture at Graz, Innsbruck, and other Austrian universities. The first Austrian to come to this country will be Dr. Josef Schumpeter, of the University of Graz, the well-known political economist. Dr. Schumpeter has already published articles explaining the work of our own economists. He speaks excellent English. The first Dutch professor to come to this country to begin the "Queen Wilhelmina Lectureship" at Columbia will be Leonard Charles van Noppen. His lectures will deal with Dutch history and literature, and will be the more readily understood as English is to all intents and purposes his native language, for he had his schooling in this country.

In this connection it should be said that the Columbia representative this year at the University of Paris is to be William D. Guthrie, Professor of Constitutional Law, who will lecture on that subject. The French representative here is Professor Jean Perrin, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Paris. As to Germany, the American representative is to be Dr. Paul Shorey, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Chicago, and the German representative will be Dr. Karl Rathgen, the political economist, who once served as Professor of Political Science in the University of Tokyo, and who is now occupying the same chair in the Kolonial Institut at Hamburg.

HARVARD PROFESSORIAL EXCHANGES

We have already chronicled the appointment of Dr. Anesaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the University of Tokyo, to give the first series of lectures under the new endowment of a professorship of Japanese Literature and Life at Harvard. Dr. Anesaki has begun his lectures, and the course promises to be one of the fundamentally vital influences in interpreting Japan to America. Nothing, so it seems to us, has happened in recent years in educational interchanges of greater moment than this. The visiting Harvard professors abroad this year will be, at Berlin, Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, Professor of History and Director of the University Library, and at Paris Professor Maxime Bôcher, Professor of Mathematics. In exchange there will be from Germany Ernst von Dobschütz, Professor of the New Testament at the University of Halle. Dr. von Dobschütz is a pupil of Harnack. He was called as Professor of the New Testament to the University of Strassburg in succession to Holtzmann. Thence he went to the University of Breslau, and thence to Halle. He is the author of many books, two of which have appeared in English. During his stay in America he will give a course of Lowell Institute lectures at Boston on the "Influence of the Bible on

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Civilization." The Lowell Institute has also asked to have lectures from the French representative at Harvard, M. Fernand Baldensperger. It is to be hoped that the Institute may be successful, for, more than most professors, M. Baldensperger represents the union of the popular and the academic—indeed, he has emphasized that union, for, while for the university world he is Fernand Baldensperger, for the purely literary world he is Fernand "Baldenne." A long time before Baldensperger had published his doctor's thesis, "Baldenne" had contributed poems and stories to the periodicals of his native Lorraine. His professorial chair is in sympathy with his spontaneous individual work, for he is the Professor of Comparative Literature. He justly holds that the various literatures of the world are dependent; that is to say, that they need one another just as the members of a family need one another. Of course he will profit by his present sojourn to investigate the mutual relations of our literature and the literatures of Europe. With all this material, American universities should have during the coming scholastic year a rich field of suggestion from abroad.

THE GRADUATE COLLEGE AT PRINCETON

On another page a picture shows how the spacious new Graduate College at Princeton with its splendid Cleveland Tower looks. The location of the college has lately been much discussed in the public press; it will be interesting to see if the institution in operation realizes the hopes of its founders. We trust that there may be a full realization; indeed, that the Graduate College may be to the University what the École Normale Supérieure of Paris, for instance, has been to the University of that city. The École is a comparatively small school; it has an average of only about a hundred students, graduating some thirty a year. But, as has been well said, it has done more than any other school to give tone to the best French thought. It has been the home of great teachers—of Laplace, Lagrange, and Pasteur. It is not surprising that the growing conviction that a residential college for university students is a good thing. This was shown a year ago by the University of Berlin, at its centenary celebration, in the acceptance of gifts for the establishment of residential colleges there. Of course there has always been the English example, but, thus far, our own universities have made little provision for their graduate students' physical and social welfare. The arrangement now about to go into effect at Princeton starts with inspiring architecture. A reminder of Oxford, and especially of Magdalen, is suggested by the Cleveland Tower and in the college buildings themselves. Surely nothing is more adaptable to academic uses than the Perpendicular Gothic. In such beautiful housing there will be a community of graduate students with here and there a resident professor living among them. It is hoped that the number of students will not much exceed a hundred, for the attempt will be made, as in Paris at the École Normale and the Fondation Thiers—the latter being a kind of topmost graduate growth—to have quality first and quantity second. We trust that the Graduate College at Princeton will be as much of a credit to our country as have been the so-called "Honours Colleges" in English universities.

DEAN BAILEY RESIGNS

The news that Dean Bailey has finally resigned from the Directorship of the College of Agriculture at Cornell University will come, not as a surprise, but still as cause for very lively regret to all friends of agriculture and of that excellent institution which owes so much to his capable and inspiring leadership.

For some time Dean Bailey has been desirous of retiring from the exacting duties incumbent upon him as the executive head of the New York State College of Agriculture in order to devote himself fully to active research work and to the solution of the more pressing problems of rural life. Two years ago, indeed, he placed his resignation in the hands of the trustees of the University, and we are not aware that it was ever definitely withdrawn. At that time, however, the alumni of the College of Agriculture induced him to remain on the condition that the management of the College of Agriculture should be placed without reserve in his hands. This reorganization of the College was accomplished—not without difficulty; and time has supplied ample proof of the wisdom of Dean Bailey's demands.

Since the management of the College passed from Cornell University its growth has been convincingly and gratifyingly great enough to

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silence the most captious critics. It is outstripping the other departments of the University both in numbers and personnel. Probably Dean Bailey feels that the critical period for the College has now passed, and that it is no longer his absolute duty to remain at the helm.

Dean Bailey's first important work as a naturalist was carried on under Asa Gray at Harvard. He has been Director of the New York State College of Agriculture since 1903. During President Roosevelt's Administration he was appointed Chairman of the Commission on Country Life—a position which he filled with conspicuous and recognized success, and in which he rendered invaluable service to the Nation.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

One of the most important events in the history of China took place last week. The two houses of the Chinese Parliament, in joint assembly, elected Yuan Shi-kai, who has been provisional President, as President of the Republic for a term of five years. Of the 850 members of the two houses 759 were in attendance. Three ballots were necessary before a definite decision was obtained, as there were more than twenty candidates. Most of these, however, including Dr Sun Yat-sen, the Southern Radical leader, and Dr. Wu Ting-fang, late Chinese Minister at Washington, were soon eliminated and Yuan Shi-kai and Li Yuan-hung—the latter the provisional Vice-President—were left to continue the contest. On the final ballot the figures were : Yuan, 507 ; Li, 179 ; thus Yuan obtained a two-thirds majority.

When the result was announced, the Chinese Foreign Office immediately notified the foreign legations at Peking. The Powers had already signified their intention of according recognition to the Chinese Republic on the meeting of Parliament, the adoption of a permanent Constitution, the election of a President, and the Republic's confirmation of the rights resulting from treaties ; our own Government, however, did not wait longer than the meeting of Parliament. The Foreign Office guaranteed that the President would observe all the treaties and contracts made by the Manchu Government, a promise repeated by Yuan himself at his inauguration four days later, namely, on October 10, the second anniversary of the outbreak of the revolution which overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established a Republic.

Exactly a year and a half before, namely, on March 10, 1912, Yuan Shi-kai took office as provisional President. At that time it was expected that a Presidential election would take place before the end of the year. But the difficulties of finance in which the Government became enmeshed and the disputes of political parties prevented action. Then the South revolted. Now that the revolution has come to an end, with Yuan's military as well as political triumph, his election naturally follows.

Foreigners welcome the event because there is no visible alteration in the Government of which Yuan is the principal figure ; and for the same reason they welcome the election of Li Yuan-hung as Vice-President. Whatever of reliable statesmanship there is in China is represented by these men. They are not statesmen in the largest sense of the word. That could hardly be expected. They are certainly not wholly free from the despotic tendencies of Orientals in positions of power. But they have shown a sane realization of actual events about them which distinguishes them, on the one hand, from the visionaries who do not understand how to make haste slowly, and, on the other hand, from the reactionaries who, under the hypocritical title of the "Public Righteousness" party, would hark back to Manchu methods.

THE REFORMATION MONUMENT

In Geneva a great monument is being erected to commemorate what the Reformation brought to the world in religious, educational, and political freedom. The monument is now about half complete. Its background is formed by the old city bastions, against which a very high wall has been built. Standing out from it are figures in heroic size of Calvin, Bèze, Farel, and John Knox. On either side and at a considerable distance from one another stand figures symbolizing the effect of the Reformation in different countries. America is represented by Roger Williams, England by Oliver Cromwell, France by Coligny, Holland by William the Silent, Germany by the Great Elector, and Hungary by Stephen Bocskay, that Prince of Transylvania who established Protestantism in Hungary. Between these figures are bas-reliefs. One shows Henry IV signing the Edict of Nantes, which granted freedom

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of worship in France to Protestants and Catholics alike; another represents the first Protestant service held in Geneva; another represents John Knox preaching before Mary Queen of Scots; another represents the signing of the Mayflower Compact. Also on the wall are to be engraved certain great documents; first of all the Lord's Prayer, then the Decree of the City of Geneva that its children should have not only free but compulsory education, etc. Above all of the inscriptions and statues is to be engraved the motto of the city of Geneva—*Post Tenebras Lux*—a motto summing up the world's history in education and religion before the Reformation and the effect of that Reformation. The rose-colored granite of which the wall, statues, and bas-reliefs are made contrasts well with the dark green of the trees on the bastion above, and the lighter green of the park separating it from the university.

As its part towards this international monument the city of Geneva donated eighty thousand dollars. Hungary has also covered its proportion of financial contribution, and the German Emperor is to pay for the statue of the Great Elector out of his own pocket. But in our own richer country little response has yet come to the appeals for funds. Surely those indebted to Roger Williams as a founder of religious liberty may well feel themselves called upon to contribute towards an acknowledgment in a far-away land of what has been done in ours. Any contributions should be marked "Genevan Monument," and sent to Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., Bankers, 59 Wall Street, New York City, for transmission.

A BRITISH POMPEII

A correspondent of the Birmingham "Post" publishes an account of excavations on the site of Viriconium, a Roman-British city near Wroxeter, not far from Birmingham, buried for many centuries as effectively as Pompeii. From a military outpost in the northward march of Roman conquest it grew into a city covering a hundred and seventy acres, half the area of London in Roman times. Hundreds of coins of the first, second, third, and fourth centuries have been found, but none of later date. Viriconium must have perished when Rome, in sore need of her legionaries, withdrew them from Britain, abandoning the island to the barbarian Picts they had held in check. Its site was discovered some fifty years ago, and the spade brought to light its public bath and a small portion of its forum. Only last year the spade was taken up again by the Birmingham Archæological Society. Since then several acres have been excavated, with encouraging discoveries—the foundations of a temple and of a number of large houses, five stone-lined wells connected with these, a large number of engraved gems, brooches, and parts of statuettes, with many small relics in bone, bronze, iron, and a lot of pottery and potters' stamps. In one part of the ruins were found skeletons of men, women, and children who had perished by fire. The earliest of the many coins found dates from the Republican period before 30 B.C., and the latest from the reign of Theodosius I, who died 395 A.D. Visitors to Bath and its famous hot springs have seen the ancient public bath of marble, some 80 x 40 feet in extent—all that, without prohibitive expense, can be uncovered of the noble Roman city on whose tomb the modern city has risen. The site of Viriconium lies almost entirely in the open country, so that its complete uncovering is hoped for, if the necessary funds can be procured—$2,500 to $4,000 per annum. The great universities are interesting themselves in this enterprise.

A PROFESSORSHIP OF CIVIC DESIGN

America, we are glad to say, is forging to the fore in city-planning. The Outlook recently reported the appointment of Mr. Walter Burley Griffin, the Chicago architect, to be the designer of the entire city of Canberra, the new Australian capital. The Outlook now has to chronicle the appointment of Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson, of Rochester, the well-known specialist in municipal æsthetics, to the professorship of Civic Design at the University of Illinois.

Both events, in our opinion, are significant. With regard to the latter, as we review international education in civic design, we find that courses in it constitute a part of the programmes of some European universities. Turning to this country, we find that for some years Harvard and the University of Michigan have given courses in the subject, but that these lectures have been delivered by instructors in the Department of Landscape Architecture. Columbia has had an outside lecturer on the subject. Cornell and the University of Wisconsin have recognized it

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in their work, respectively, of landscape architecture and engineering. But, so far as we know, Illinois is the first university to make civic design a distinct "chair"—that is to say, to establish a professorship in that subject.

Although one of the youngest of our universities, Illinois has already gained rank with those of longer standing, and the latest acquisition to its teaching body will add to its reputation. We learn that Mr. Robinson is to retain his residence in Rochester, visiting the University at frequent intervals, his arrangement with it leaving him free to carry on his practical city-planning work. That work may be seen in Los Angeles, Denver, Colorado Springs, Des Moines, Dubuque, Columbus, and other communities. It and Mr. Robinson's writings abundantly indicate that he is well equipped to introduce a course in civic design to American students.

THE WORLD'S SERIES

The baseball fever has reached its annual climacteric. If there are any American citizens in whose veins the bacillus of the disease has not found lodgment, they must find little comfort in the news columns of the daily press. The Governor of New York State, indeed, is undergoing impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors; yet the student of contemporary political history is forced to look for the Governor's defense sandwiched in, at the foot of an inside page, between a portrait of the temporarily deathless "Matty" and a reproduction of Baker's bat. The front page is reserved exclusively for even more vital things.

Some members of the House of Representatives (under the strict guardianship of the sergeant-at-arms) are still struggling over the Urgent Deficiency Bill; and this is the report of their deliberations which filters out to an unexpectant public:

"A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. Speaker," cries Representative Mann, Republican floor leader of the lower house.

"State it," replies the Speaker.

"I would ask," says Mr. Mann, "if it would be in order to announce that Baker of Philadelphia [we will pass over without comment the tautology of that last phrase] has just knocked a home run and that the score is now 5 to 1 in favor of the Athletics?"

To the shame of the late Speaker Reed, no provision has been made for such a question in his rules of order, and the chairman is forced to decide this touching appeal adversely, yet the cheers of the imprisoned Representatives prove that Mr. Mann's effort has not been in vain.

What is the secret behind this infatuation of the American people for its National sport? Not since the days when blue and green partisans enlivened the annals of the ancient Eastern Empire has any nation gone so drunk over any single form of vicarious activity. How much of this infatuation is wholesome? How much injurious? The question is easier to ask than to answer; perhaps it is even indiscreet to propose—some captious reader might have the unkindness to surmise that, since The Outlook has no athletic editor, we have received no ticket to the games, and that our question was prompted, not by a legitimate desire for philosophic argument, but because we were jealous of our—shall we say it?—more fortunate contemporaries of the daily press.

Lest the discussion grow too pointed, let us refer our readers forthwith to the group of baseball worthies pictured on another page of this issue.

BENJAMIN ALTMAN

Benjamin Altman, who died last week in New York City, was interesting in three directions—as man, as merchant, and as art collector. As man, Mr. Altman was almost unique in his desire to avoid publicity. One of his friends said that probably not a hundred persons in the metropolis knew him by sight. Certainly in this latter day, when there seems to be a growing thirst for notoriety, such an example should be noted.

As merchant, Mr. Altman founded a dry-goods house, and in a generation developed it from small beginnings into a magnificent property. He was widely and honorably known as one who stood for what is best in mercantile probity. His rise to great wealth should be noted by those who would attain it suddenly through speculation. Mr. Altman's wealth was slowly, surely, and fairly acquired in the good old-fashioned way.

As an art collector Mr. Altman certainly occupied a very proud position, for his collection, while not as large as some others, is to be distinguished as one in which

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everything is of the finest. The collection numbers about a thousand articles, comprising porcelains, tapestries, jades, ancient furniture, enamels, rugs, and paintings. As to the paintings, the collection is specially strong in works by Rembrandt, of which there are fourteen. Frans Hals is represented by "The Merry Company," which Dr. Bode, the eminent German critic, holds to be the artist's masterpiece. Another notable single picture is Holbein's portrait of Margaret Wyatt. The collection is also strong in Italian and Flemish paintings of the fifteenth century and in Dutch of the seventeenth century. There are two great portraits by Velasquez, namely, of Philip IV and of that King's Minister, Olivarez, and there are also superb specimens of the French Barbizon school. All in all, the Altman collection takes first rank. A well-known American painter has said that it is the most remarkable artistic monument which any American art collector has so far left behind him.

POLICE COURT FINES ON CREDIT

A Kansas City police magistrate, Ewing C. Bland, has completed recently a year's trial of an interesting experiment, in placing minor offenders upon their honor in the payment of fines. Judge Bland's plan is to allow men who are fined in his court to pay their fines in small weekly installments instead of sending them to the city prison when they are unable to pay the whole amount of the fine at the time it is imposed. He has found it successful in actual practice.

In the last year two hundred and fifty-five men have benefited by Judge Bland's "credit system" of fines. These men have been fined amounts aggregating $5,891. Not a man has been delinquent in his weekly payments, and of the two hundred and fifty-five, only three have been rearrested for fresh infractions of the city's peace. Had these men been sent to prison to serve out their fines, as has always been the custom heretofore, their "time" in the "workhouse" would have aggregated 11,782 days. It costs the city $1 a day to keep a man in prison. So Judge Bland has saved the city not only the $5,891 which has been paid in fines, but $11,782 as well, which would otherwise have been spent to keep the two hundred and fifty-five in prison. Altogether he has saved the municipality $17,673 in the last twelve months by his system. But the big saving, Judge Bland believes, has been in men and human suffering. The two hundred and fifty-five offenders who were released "on credit" have been earning livings for themselves and their families instead of spending an average time of forty-six days each in the city prison. Mr. Bland is a young man of thirty, and is a son of the late Richard Parks Bland, who came near receiving the Democratic nomination for President in 1896.

HOW THE TARIFF SHOULD BE REVISED

Now, when the country has just passed through the troubles and uncertainties attendant upon a general revision of the tariff, is the time for the people of the country to make up their minds that they will not again repeat that experience.

Does this mean that we should never have any more tariff laws? Not at all.

No one denies that the Federal Government has power to levy a tax on imports—that is, a tariff. That power is specifically granted by the Constitution.

That power the Federal Government will continue to exercise. In the future, as in the past, Congress will certainly enact laws making changes in the rates of the tariff on foreign goods.

Since this power exists and will continue to be exercised, it seems so clear as to be axiomatic and even platitudinous that it should be used for the greatest possible benefit of all the people of the Nation. This means that it should be used for any purpose that will promote the material, industrial, intellectual, and moral welfare of the people. The theory that the levying of a tariff bill has but one object, namely, the raising of revenue, is equivalent to saying that Congress cannot exercise a Constitutional power for the greatest benefit of the people. That theory, however, need no longer be discussed. It has been contradicted by the very party that affirmed it, and has been abandoned by that party in practice. In the very platform in which the Democrats declared that the Federal Government had no power to levy a tariff except for revenue purposes they promised to levy a tariff for two other purposes—the restoration of competition in business and a reduction in the cost of living. Just in proportion as the Democratic party has

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undertaken in the Underwood Act to fulfill its pledges, it has been under the necessity of disregarding its tariff principle. Whether the new tariff law will restore competition and will reduce the cost of living is another question. Whether if it does restore competition it will benefit the country is still another question. But there is no question that the Democratic party in practice believes that the tariff can be used for any purpose that it regards as beneficial to the country. In that respect, therefore, all parties are alike. All agree, therefore, on these three points: that Congress has power to levy a tax; that it will continue to enact tariff laws; and that in enacting tariff laws it should have as its object all possible benefits to the country.

In order to secure such benefits two things are necessary: first, information scientifically gathered regarding all matters that have a bearing upon the tariff—the tariff as a factor in the raising of revenue, the effect of the tariff on each specific industry, the relation of the tariff on the products of an industry to the wages paid in that industry, the bearing of the tariff upon international trade, the use of the tariff as a weapon of the Government in enforcing its orders for the regulation of industrial practices and the securing of justice; and, second, administrative effectiveness by means of an adequate governmental agency which will secure with reasonable promptitude those beneficial results which the tariff law was designed to secure.

To this end Congress should establish a body by law—or empower a body already existing—to secure this information and to act as this administrative agency.

First, with regard to the information such a tariff commission should secure, the law establishing the commission should be most liberal in scope. We live in a world of protective tariffs. Of all the great commercial countries England is the only one that is virtually a free-trade country, and even England is part of an empire that is overwhelmingly protective. No tariff in this country can be intelligently levied without a knowledge of the effect of the protective tariffs of other lands. Such a commission would ascertain what has been the effect of a protective tariff upon specific industries in the past; it would ascertain what effects such tariffs have had upon wages in this and in other countries. In conjunction with such a body as the Bureau of Corporations it would ascertain how far the benefit of a tariff tax upon the products of an industry were necessary to the continuance of the concerns engaged in that industry on a sound basis, how far those benefits were justly distributed among those engaged in the industry and between capital and labor in that industry, and how far the benefits so secured were honestly and intelligently used for the upbuilding of that industry as a factor in the general prosperity of the Nation.

Second, with regard to the administrative functions of such a tariff commission, the law establishing the commission should be based on the general principle that underlies the establishment of the Inter-State Commerce Commission and the Public Utilities Commissions of the several States. So far as possible, the determination of specific tariff rates should be made an administrative matter. There should be certain broad, general regulations to which every tariff schedule should be made to conform, and then, so far as possible, the application of those regulations to the specific schedules should be made the duty of the tariff commission. In determining the rates the commission would take up the tariff schedule by schedule, or industry by industry. This is no more legislation by commission than the determination of railway rates by a commission on inter-State commerce is legislation by commission. The administrative function could be, and ought to be, limited by law. If Congress wished, it could set a maximum and a minimum rate beyond which the commission could not go. Congress has already once adopted this principle by establishing a maximum and a minimum tariff and leaving the determination of the specific rates within those limits to the discretion of the President. Congress should follow its own precedent and make the levying of specific duties an administrative act. It is hardly necessary for us to say that such a commission should be constituted with as little regard to partisan lines as the Inter-State Commerce Commission or the Supreme Court.

Under such a law there would never again be the demoralizing, disturbing experience that is involved in a general tariff revision. There would be an end to the lobbying and log-rolling and bargaining that in one form or another has accompanied every general revision of the tariff, including the one just completed. The tariff would cease to be the plaything of party politicians, the weapon by which one party tries to bribe and another

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tries to threaten voters into the support of their respective candidates. Instead, the tariff would become one means of adjusting business to conditions of international trade, securing publicity in the dealings of corporations with the public and with their employees, depriving industries of special benefits when proved to be unworthy of those special benefits, securing an approach to a fair division of the fruits of production between employer and employee—a means of correcting inequalities in industry and of invoking the Federal power to secure a larger measure of social and industrial justice.

FOES BUT NOT ENEMIES

Nothing is ever gained by ignoring or minimizing real differences of conviction; many differences of opinion are apparent rather than real, and there are obstacles which a little effort will clear away. Differences of principle, of conviction, cannot be pushed aside however eager men may be to come together; time, patience, and faith must be invoked and trusted to bring about a harmony which cannot be forced. Those who work in any field, not for a temporary suspension of hostilities, but for peace, will not try to grasp too soon a fruit the ripening of which cannot be rudely hastened. Real and lasting peace cannot be secured by diplomacy; it is the result of an inward growth, the expression of a ripening of mind and spirit.

But men need not be separated in feeling by honest differences of opinion; they need not hold their positions in a belligerent spirit; above all, they need not regard one another as enemies. Opinions that have depth and reality are symbols of truth, and the men who hold them are seekers after truth. That is the only purpose which gives intellectual and moral integrity to the holding of opinions. The great mass of honest men who are on different sides of a question are not only honest, but they believe they hold at least a measure of truth in their keeping. Both sides are seekers after truth; when they seem to be coming together in sharpest conflict they are often moving on parallel lines to the same point. It may be, and often is, their duty to risk everything for the cause they have espoused, to fight to the death for it; but even then they are not enemies but servants of a higher truth than either understands.

In the great struggles in which honest men engage neither side ever gains a complete and final victory; and neither side ought ever to annihilate the other. Rome conquered Greece, but Greece, like a shattered vase from which the fragrance escapes, civilized the power that destroyed her. In due time the barbarians overthrew Rome and came under the power of the Mediterranean influence which they had mastered only to be educated by it. Montcalm and Wolfe are commemorated together at Quebec, but this fine recognition of duty and heroism shared equally by two men who died fighting each other was not made until time had softened old animosities. At Gettysburg, last summer, the bitter enemies of a generation ago sat about camp-fires telling stories of "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago," as friends recall memories that have made them friends. They were not enemies when they faced one another in arms any more than they are enemies to-day; they had been a household divided for a moment, but they were still a household, and each side had things in its keeping which were to be the common possession of all. On the battle-swept fields of Port Arthur the Japanese have built two memorials: one to their own heroic dead, and one to the Russian soldiers who fell on those bitterly contested hills. The dedication of the Russian memorial was an incident without parallel in the history of the world. The awful battles at Port Arthur came to an end only nine years ago! When the memorial to their foes was dedicated, the Japanese generals stood side by side with the Russian generals who were their guests, and General Nogi read an address to the spirits of the Russian dead, in which he said, in effect, that though they had been foes they had never been enemies, and that victors and vanquished had been inspired by a common love of country and ennobled by a common heroism. In the striking story of modern Japan there is no incident more significant of the Japanese spirit.

The differences of honest men are not the irreconcilable differences between vice and virtue which must be fought to the bitter end, and in which no compromise is possible; they are differences of point of view, struggles between half-truths, or struggles to bring truths into right relations with one another. Such are the conflicts between those who

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put the emphasis of social organization on the individual, and those who put it on that community of men which we call society; between those who hold that freedom is the greatest possession which men may secure for themselves, and those who hold that the highest privilege of men as well as their highest duty is to learn and practice obedience; between those who find in symbolism the greatest aid to worship, and those who find in secret communion the most intimate approach to God; between those who see God most clearly as Infinite Love, and those who see him as Divine Law.

In all the differences which divide men in theories of government, of social organization, of education, of art, and of science, the conflict is not between truth and falsehood; it is between forces which are diverse forms of the same force, between tendencies which must combine in the complete putting forth of human energy, between impulses of temperament which must all find play in every rich and full revelation of the human spirit. The conflict between the poet and the scientist, the classicist and the romanticist, the radical and the conservative, will probably go on to the end of time; neither will finally and completely triumph because neither ought to triumph, because neither contestant holds the whole truth in his hands. They represent different temperaments and see the same truth from different points.

This age-long contest is part of the process by which the whole truth is revealed, by which the inclusiveness of truth is brought to light, excesses checked, and the balance secured. Through this conflict the rich possibilities of human nature are realized, and that conquest of truth and beauty which is the ultimate goal of civilization, as it is its chief interest by the way, is achieved. There will always be those who will see but one side of the shield and will insist that it has no other side; who will fight not so much to establish the truth they hold as to destroy the truth to which they are opposed; to whom every recognition of the other side of the truth is compromise and surrender. If the physical forces were within human control, there would be those who would fight to put the centripetal force in possession of the universe and to annihilate the centrifugal force; and these honest fanatics would regard any recognition of both forces as an immoral surrender of a principle. Men of this type are often expert logicians and stand ready to follow their logic to its ultimate inferences at all costs; their limitation lies in the narrowness of the premises from which their logical processes start. They assume an order in the universe which lies comfortably within human knowledge; but the divine logic is worked out without regard to the limitations of human intelligence, and all attempts to make God explain himself are doomed to failure. Great forces that are antagonistic from the human point of view are from the divine point of view working in perfect harmony. The worlds would fly out of their places if either force were for a moment arrested in action. The ultimate resolution of the opposing tendencies will be, not compromise, but comprehension.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

A committee of the United States Senate has appended a "rider" to the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Bill to the effect that internal revenue officers and subordinates of United States marshals shall be exempt from the civil service regulations.

When this amendment was proposed, the newspapers announced that it simply removed from the competitive classified service deputy collectors of internal revenue and deputy marshals who were required to give bond to their immediate superiors. But the amendment was not understood in its full meaning. It contained this clause: "And the officer requiring said bond shall have power to revoke the appointment of any subordinate officer or employee and appoint his successor at his discretion without regard to the act, amendment, rules, or regulations aforesaid"—namely, the civil service law and rules.

What would be the effect of this amendment? Not only to remove deputy collectors and deputy marshals from the competitive classified service, but possibly to remove any other employee in the office of a collector or a marshal.

We recall no such sweeping attack as this in a long time on our competitive classified civil service. Instead of affecting merely the twelve hundred and fifty-seven deputy collectors of internal revenue and the two hundred odd deputy marshals now in the competitive classified service—and this is sufficiently serious—such a proviso could affect thousands of clerks, gaugers, storekeepers, messengers, and other subordinate

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employees in the offices of collectors and marshals throughout the country.

It was bad enough, in our opinion, for Congress to pass a provision in the tariff bill taking the new income tax collection force out of the competitive classified service. But this is worse. And, coming closely on the heels of the other, a popular protest is in order.

In such a protest there would, of course, be the protest against vicious "rider" legislation. What is a "rider"? The sneaking and underhanded method by which those who wish to accomplish a vicious thing try to do so by tacking on their bad proposal to an otherwise good law. Those who are behind this amendment have been afraid to come out in the open and present an independent measure. But by adding it to a necessary appropriation bill they expect to accomplish by indirection what they could not do by direction.

Should this bill reach the President, he will, in view of pending legislation, be anxious to please as many Senators as possible, and will know that he can please them in no better way than by signing the bill. On the other hand, the President's civil service principles will, we feel, be an even greater force in causing him to withhold his approval. All upholders of the merit system look to him to stand between it and the spoilsmen.

WHAT FOREIGNERS THINK OF OUR NEW TARIFF

A POLL OF THE PRESS

OUR new tariff has brought forth immediate and interesting foreign comment.

First of all is that from Canada. It is a self-criticism. It will be remembered that we recently offered Canada reciprocity—that is, we agreed to lower certain tariffs if Canada would lower certain tariffs. Canada refused. But now, with the passage of the Underwood Tariff in this country, Canada has turned about. Many Canadians are demanding the enactment of their withheld half of the old reciprocity treaty.

It is not surprising that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the veteran Liberal leader, makes this the main issue in the first by-election in Canada since our tariff became effective.

Says the New York "Times" (Dem.):

> Canadian sellers are rejoicing not less than American buyers, but Canadian buyers do not share the rejoicings. . . . They demand that Canadian customs on American wheat shall be removed. . . . They demand that American agricultural implements shall be admitted into Canada on favored terms. The refusal of the concessions to the United States—that is, the refusal to reduce the Canadian customs in the interests of the buyers of American goods—sustains the Canadian cost of living. . . . Trade is not so brisk as it was and needs unshackling no less than our own did.

Not only the Liberal press, but even the Toronto "World," a Conservative paper, demands the removal of the duty upon wheat entering Canada from the United States. The Toronto "News," another Conservative paper, is also "squinting" in that direction. Of course the Liberal Toronto "Globe" declares that food taxes are not defensible in Canada, saying that "the freeing of foodstuffs from taxation is a great fundamental reform based on the fact that a tax on foodstuffs bears far more heavily on the poor than on the well-to-do. . . . The market of the United States stands open to us. It is ours to choose. . . . The growth and transportation of wheat is the chief occupation of two million Canadians. Anything that hampers or delays the market of the wheat crop works an injury to the business interests of the entire Dominion." It would not be surprising, therefore, if the passage of a new tariff law in the United States were to be followed by new tariff legislation in Canada, to the great benefit of both countries.

ENGLAND

Turning to Europe, we find, as might be expected, an emphasis by the English press on the change from high protection towards freer trade. The London "Spectator," for

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instance, says that the broad features of our tariff revolution "mark a tremendous advance towards freedom of trade, . . . with a final result in economy of human effort and a consequent increase of human satisfaction." The London "Daily News," another free-trade journal, declares that "the result will be as beneficial to industry as it will be to the American consumer." As to England, the "Daily News" adds:

> Its effect on this country remains to be seen. Many years ago Gladstone predicted that our supremacy would remain unchallenged until the United States adopted free trade, and that then it would be seriously threatened. We do not fear the competition so long as we retain the system that has brought us such abundant prosperity. Free trade is a blessing, not to one country at the expense of others, but to all countries that share its fertilizing influence.

In the same spirit the London "Daily Chronicle" welcomes the greater commercial liberty afforded by the new bill: "Wool and meat from Australia, lumber from Canada, potatoes from Ireland, manufactures from England—what a destroying avalanche it must appear to protectionist minds; how they must tremble for the future of American industries! Even so, when railways were invented men trembled for the future of carts and wagons, little foreseeing that, where the new system displaced one, it created a demand for a dozen."

Along with the comment from free-trade journals comes that from the principal advocate of protection in England, the London "Times," which says that "reasonable protection may be expected as the settled creed of America. Nothing can undo the fact that the American people have at length taken into their own hands the protection of the fiscal policy of the Nation." The passage of the Underwood Bill, therefore, "is something more than a triumph for economic sanity: it is a triumph for self-government."

As to special interests in England likely to be affected by the new tariff, we note that, according to English comment in general, a considerable fillip may be given to trade with America. The London "Ironmonger" says that millions of pounds' worth of all kinds of goods have been awaiting the passage into law of the tariff bill. According to a despatch to the New York "Times," the iron manufacturers of Birmingham and that district will benefit appreciatively by the reduced tariff. The despatch, however, quotes a representative of Messrs. Dick, Kerr & Co., electrical engineers of Preston, who send machinery to all parts of the world, to the effect that he had not much hope from our tariff changes. On the other hand, the removal of the duty on boots and shoes may, according to the editor of the London "Shoe and Leather Record," lead to more business with American buyers. "It will certainly provide us with a rather better chance, and there is a possibility of developments in many directions, notably in the exportation of leather and machinery." Lancashire, the home of the cotton trade, is also anticipating an increased business. The New York "Times's" London correspondent reports that under the new tariff the trade will increase in both yarn and cloth. With reference to wool, the London "Saturday Review" says that our drastic cuts "may stimulate some new trade from the Bradford area, but . . . there is some reason to fear that . . . an increased importation of yarns may be accompanied by a serious reduction in the quantity of cloths," for, as the paper dryly adds, "the reductions are not designed to aid Bradford, but New England."

All the English papers unite in ascribing the triumph of the new tariff primarily to the President; indeed, the London "Daily Chronicle" declares him to have been its real author. "Little did the people imagine that, within a year of his entry into the Presidential office, he would have succeeded in inducing the most protectionist country in the world to take so big and decisive a step in the direction of free trade." The London "Times" says:

> Before he has been in office seven months, President Wilson will thus have enjoyed and deserved the supreme satisfaction of signing a bill that not only squares with the platform on which he was elected, but disposes for the remainder of his first term in the White House, and probably for many years beyond it, of an issue that has always, and never more so than since 1908, served as the storm-signal of American politics. This achievement, moreover, has been carried through with no approach to a party split, or any serious secessions, and with a complete absence of the ill will between President and Congress that ruined the Democratic attempt at tariff revision twenty years ago. The events of the past six months have, indeed, revealed the American Democrats, for the first time since the Civil War, as a party in substantial agreement with itself, and capable of the unity and discipline without which there can be no coherent legislation of any kind. Mr. Wilson has every reason to be satisfied with his Presi-

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dential début. He finds himself the actual as well as the titular leader of his party.

FRANCE

As might be expected, the French papers do not fail to comment on the final triumph of the lovers of free art in this country in obtaining from a reactionary Senate the free admittance of works of art into the United States.

The well-known Paris "Figaro," for instance, declares that this victory marks an important date in our intellectual evolution. "American traditions had required that artists should be assimilated with artisans and similarly protected against foreign competition."

But "it was the artists themselves who protested against this so-called protection, insisting that they needed to remain in touch with the development of European art, and especially with French art, in order to progress under the inspiration of contemporary works."

With regard to the effect of the tariff on world industries, the more serious "Journal des Débats" admits that "extreme French protectionists will find in this a bugbear. But, in our opinion, French industries will only be the gainers by the new customs policy proposed by the United States. The American example may well be useful to France."

GERMANY

German opinion with regard to our new tariff is summarized by the influential "Berliner Tageblatt." It contrasts Germany and America, saying that at the moment when the Imperial Chancellor demanded from Parliament a quarter of a billion dollars' sacrifice from the people in military taxes Mr. Underwood made to the American people a present of more than a quarter of a billion dollars by the new tariff. Comparing that tariff with its predecessor, the "Tageblatt" adds this comment:

> Tariff revision, which under President Taft was a farce, will become an actuality under President Wilson. The Underwood Bill is not a treacherous trick, like the Payne-Aldrich measure. President Wilson and Mr. Underwood preach the doctrine that he who wants to sell must buy also. This makes a good outlook now for permanent and mutually satisfactory trade relations between Germany and the United States.

THE FAVORED-NATIONS TREATIES

So much for the tariff in general. As to the preferential feature in particular, there has been a protest from all countries involved. This feature was a five per cent discount allowed from duties on goods imported in vessels of American registry. Concerning it the London "Pall Mall Gazette" says:

> This feature is the most significant fact for international trade in the whole apparatus of duties and schedules. America is preparing to challenge the supremacy we so long enjoyed as carriers for the world. It challenges it by the same weapons wherewith she made our supremacy in the iron trade and other industries a thing of the past.

It developed that the discount from duties on all goods so imported must also be granted from duties on goods when imported from Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Colombia, and many other countries which have treaties providing that neither contracting party shall charge a lower rate of duty on merchandise imported in its own vessels than it charges on merchandise imported in vessels of the other contracting party. But suppose that goods are imported from countries like France, Russia, or Brazil, which have no treaties with the United States granting to their vessels the benefit of the discrimination in favor of American ships, then France and the other countries without favored-nation treaties would also be discriminated against. Thus this particular feature, instead of accomplishing what was expected of it, proves to be a decided "boomerang."

With this belated realization on the part of the Administration, and pending a construction of the section by the Attorney-General, Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, has directed all collectors of customs to refuse the five per cent reduction to all American or foreign vessels which may ask it, thus suspending this particular clause of the new law. The only practical solution would appear to be the repeal by Congress of the clause in question.

The affair is not without its element of humor, which the press is emphasizing—namely, that in order to foster the growth of our merchant marine a five per cent remission in duties on goods imported in our ships is nothing more or less than a subsidy. And this subsidy has been gravely proposed and enacted by a party opposed to subsidies!

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WILLIAM SULZER AND THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY the time the edition of The Outlook containing this article reaches its readers, the Court of Impeachment which has been trying the case of William Sulzer, Governor of New York, charged with the commission of "high crimes and misdemeanors," will probably have rendered its decision, thus determining the political fate of Mr. Sulzer and closing one of the most dramatic chapters in the history of New York State. Mr. Sulzer and his opponents have been on trial before a higher and more puissant court than the Court of Impeachment, however, and the verdict of this tribunal has yet to be rendered. There are more important issues at stake in this case than the legal issues, and these must be decided in the court of public opinion. It is in the decision of that court that The Outlook is mainly interested; for necessarily there may therein be considered evidence that has no place in a law court, and argument that would have no place in a lawyer's brief.

The Outlook here publishes a review of Mr. Sulzer's career and of his trial, prepared by a special correspondent who has been present at the trial. Following that review is The Outlook's editorial summary and conclusion regarding the greater issues involved, not only in the Impeachment trial itself but in the struggle for political freedom of which that trial is a dramatic incident.

THE CAREER AND TRIAL OF WILLIAM SULZER

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The veriest tyro in the game of politics needs not to be told that the prosecution of Governor Sulzer was begun and sustained for political reasons by his political enemies; and that, whatever truth there may be in the charges against him, they would never have been brought if he had not had the courage, or the reckless stupidity, to break with Tammany Hall, the organization to which he has belonged since his entrance into public life as a member of the New York Assembly twenty-four years ago. To admit that, however, is not to condone his shortcomings, as some have done in the flush of their admiration for Sulzer's contempt for the consequences of his daring stand. If a man has broken the law, he should be brought to justice none the less because he has inadvertently been the means of exposing other wrong-doers; a truism that brings us to the most significant development of the Sulzer case, the fact that the falling out between the Governor and his former chieftain, Charles F. Murphy, has been the occasion of exposing the workings of the Invisible Government—a term applied to that alliance between corrupting politics and corrupting business, as powerful as the Inquisition and almost as unscrupulous, which has terrorized State government in the United States for generations, and which has afflicted the Empire State with particular tenacity. Even his enemies will admit that in his long public career Mr. Sulzer has fostered many measures of undoubted merit, but probably his greatest service to his constituents was that performed unwittingly when, by his so-called treachery to his party, he forced the Invisible Government to become for the time being visible.

A few hours before Herman Rosenthal, the gambler, emitted the "squeal" that was the pronunciation of his own death warrant, and that led to the recent exposure of graft in the New York City Police Department, he told me of his determination to expose the "System," even though he was sure the agents of the "System" would "get" him for so doing. Whether or not William Sulzer felt that the agents of that larger "system" would "get" him if he threw down the gage to Tammany is doubtful, but he certainly knew that he was taking chances, and the analogy between his position and that of the gamester is not far-fetched.

THE EARLIER CAREER OF MR. SULZER

Before his election to the Governorship Sulzer was considered a dyed-in-the-wool party man. He was born in Elizabeth, New Jersey, on March 18, 1863, of Dutch and Scotch-Irish parentage, and opened a law office in New York City in 1884, having then

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just arrived at man's estate. The same year he began his political career as one of the campaign speakers for the Democratic National Committee in the campaign that terminated in the election of Grover Cleveland as President. At the age of twenty-six young Sulzer was elected to the Assembly from the Fourteenth Assembly District, and was re-elected four times, being Speaker of the Assembly in 1893 when the Democrats were in power, and leader of the minority the following year. In the fall of 1894 the Democrats sent Mr. Sulzer to Congress from the Tenth Congressional District, on the East Side of New York City, and this position he held continuously until his election as Governor a year ago forced him to vacate it. Having been a faithful member of the organization for nearly a quarter of a century, it was but natural that Sulzer's pre-election promises of independence, his favorite boast that "my only boss is under my own hat," should have been looked upon by the men who considered themselves his real bosses as the usual ante-election flapdoodle for the benefit of the "peepul." Their surprise and chagrin can be imagined, therefore, when the new Governor began to put into effect the reforms he had promised.

THE IRREPARABLE BREAK

The breach between the Governor and the organization was widened by his refusal to appoint as department heads the favorites of Murphy, by his removal of the Tammany Superintendent of Prisons, and by his courage in vetoing numerous undesirable bills passed by the Tammany Legislature. The irreparable break, however, came when the Governor vetoed the primary election bills proposed by the Legislature, and insisted on a thoroughgoing direct primary, which would mean the abolition of the party convention system. At this point the Republican machine began to make common cause with the Democratic organization, for the party convention is essential to the continuance of both. It is now history that the special session of the Legislature convened by the Governor on June 16 refused to pass the sort of bill he demanded, and that the investigating committee appointed from both houses of the Legislature under the chairmanship of Senator Frawley, with power to inquire into the Governor's campaign expenditures and receipts, met with unhoped-for success.

INVESTIGATION AND IMPEACHMENT

"When our committee began work," Senator Frawley said to me recently, "we had a hunch that the full account of the Governor's campaign expenditures had not been published, as the law requires, but it was a surprise to all of us to find that he had used some of the money contributed for his political expenses to try a flyer in Wall Street."

Upon the discovery of these alleged irregularities the way seemed easy to Mr. Sulzer's enemies to get rid of their foe, and the attempt to impeach the Governor succeeded early on the morning of August 13, the motion for impeachment made by Aaron J. Levy, Tammany leader of the Assembly, being carried by a vote of 79 to 45. Eight Republicans voted to remove the Governor's political head, while sixteen Republicans and three Progressives—all that were present—favored leniency.

One of the exciting developments of the hectic session at which the motion to impeach was carried was the message brought into the Assembly chamber at the eleventh hour from the wife of the Governor, to the effect that she had conducted her husband's private business and should be held responsible for any mistakes or irregularities in the handling of his campaign funds. This event led many to believe that Mrs. Sulzer would be a witness at the trial; a supposition that proved ill founded, however.

THE CHARGES

The charges filed against the Governor by the Assembly were as follows: first, that the statement of campaign receipts and expenditures filed by the Governor with the Secretary of State was false; second, that in making such statement under oath he committed perjury; third, that he bribed witnesses to withhold testimony from the Frawley Committee; fourth, that he was guilty of suppressing evidence in using threats to keep witnesses from testifying before said Committee; fifth, that he prevented and dissuaded a witness, Frederick L. Colwell, from answering the subpœna of said Committee; sixth, that he turned to his own use and to stock speculation money contributed to finance his gubernatorial campaign; seventh, that he used his influence as Governor to affect the votes or political action of public officers; and, last, that he used this same influence to affect the prices of securities

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listed on the Stock Exchange, being interested in some of these securities.

WHO WAS GOVERNOR?

Not the least dramatic development of the struggle between the Governor and the Tammany forces was the contest between Mr. Sulzer and Lieutenant-Governor Martin Glynn which immediately followed the vote to impeach. The anti-Sulzer forces claimed that Mr. Glynn automatically became the Chief Executive of the State upon the filing of charges against Mr. Sulzer; the latter and his friends contended that the impeachment proceedings were unconstitutional, since they had been brought at a special session of the Legislature, and the Constitution provides that a Legislature in special session may consider only such matters as are brought to its attention by the Governor. Governor Sulzer refused to give any of his official papers or the keys to his offices in the Capitol to the Lieutenant-Governor, and until the Court of Impeachment met five weeks later and decided by a vote of 51 to 1 that the impeachment was legal there existed the anomalous situation of a divided State, two men claiming to be Governor and both receiving recognition as such from a substantial following, while the average citizen stood aghast, expecting to see anarchy break loose at any moment. Previous to the decision of the Court of Impeachment the contention that Mr. Glynn was the legal Governor was sustained on three occasions: by Attorney-General Carmody in an address to the Secretary of State; by Supreme Court Judge Hasbrouck in deciding that Mr. Sulzer's pardon of Joseph G. Robin, the convicted banker, was void; and by Supreme Court Judge Chester in denying a petition for a writ of prohibition to prevent the Court of Impeachment hearing the charges against the Governor, which was applied for by the Progressives of Rensselaer County. The Attorney-General and Judge Hasbrouck both took the position that the impeachment of the Governor was a judicial rather than a legislative function, and hence might properly be taken up by the Assembly on its own initiative, even at a special session.

THE HIGH COURT IN SESSION

The first court to try the impeachment of a Governor of New York was composed, according to constitutional mandate, of the members of the State Senate and the Judges of the Court of Appeals, with Chief Justice Edgar M. Cullen as President of the court. The sessions, beginning September 19, were held in the Senate Chamber, which has been well likened to the wing of a cathedral, with its stained-glass windows and lofty ceiling.

Two sessions of the court were held daily, and at each sitting the galleries at the east and west ends of the chamber were packed with the wives and daughters and friends of the Senators and Judges long before the crier's "Hear ye, hear ye" opened or reopened the case of the people against William Sulzer. All Albany wanted to get into those two small galleries, but only the privileged few gained admittance, and the rest of the population waited about the Capitol grounds or about the lobbies of the hotels where the politicians and newspaper men met each evening to discuss the events of the day. I overheard a bent old man, whose benignant face was flushed with excitement, remark to an out-of-town acquaintance with whom he was observing one of the more exciting sessions of the trial court: "Well, up here we are dimly conscious that somewhere in the remote regions of the earth a world's series is being played—we aren't interested, however, we are Sulzer mad, the whole town has gone Sulzer mad." If by the phrase "Sulzer mad" the old gentleman had reference to the state of mind of those who hoped and prayed that the court would convict the Governor of the "high crimes and misdemeanors" charged against him, as well as to the equally rabid condition of those who hoped to see the Governor vindicated and confusion heaped upon his enemies, the old gentleman was felicitous in his phraseology. Certainly no one in Albany, exclusive of members of the Impeachment Court, even attempted to be neutral. The whole town took sides, and each inhabitant gloried in his partisanship.

PROTESTS OF THE DEFENSE

One of the first moves of the Sulzer defense was the attempt to have the court rule out all testimony as to Mr. Sulzer's alleged misdeeds before he entered office on the first day of January, 1913, on the ground that an officer cannot be impeached for what he has done in an unofficial capacity before his election. Such a ruling, of course, would have taken all the wind out of the sails of the prosecution. The court ruled to reserve decision on this point till the conclusion of

(Continued on page following illustrations)

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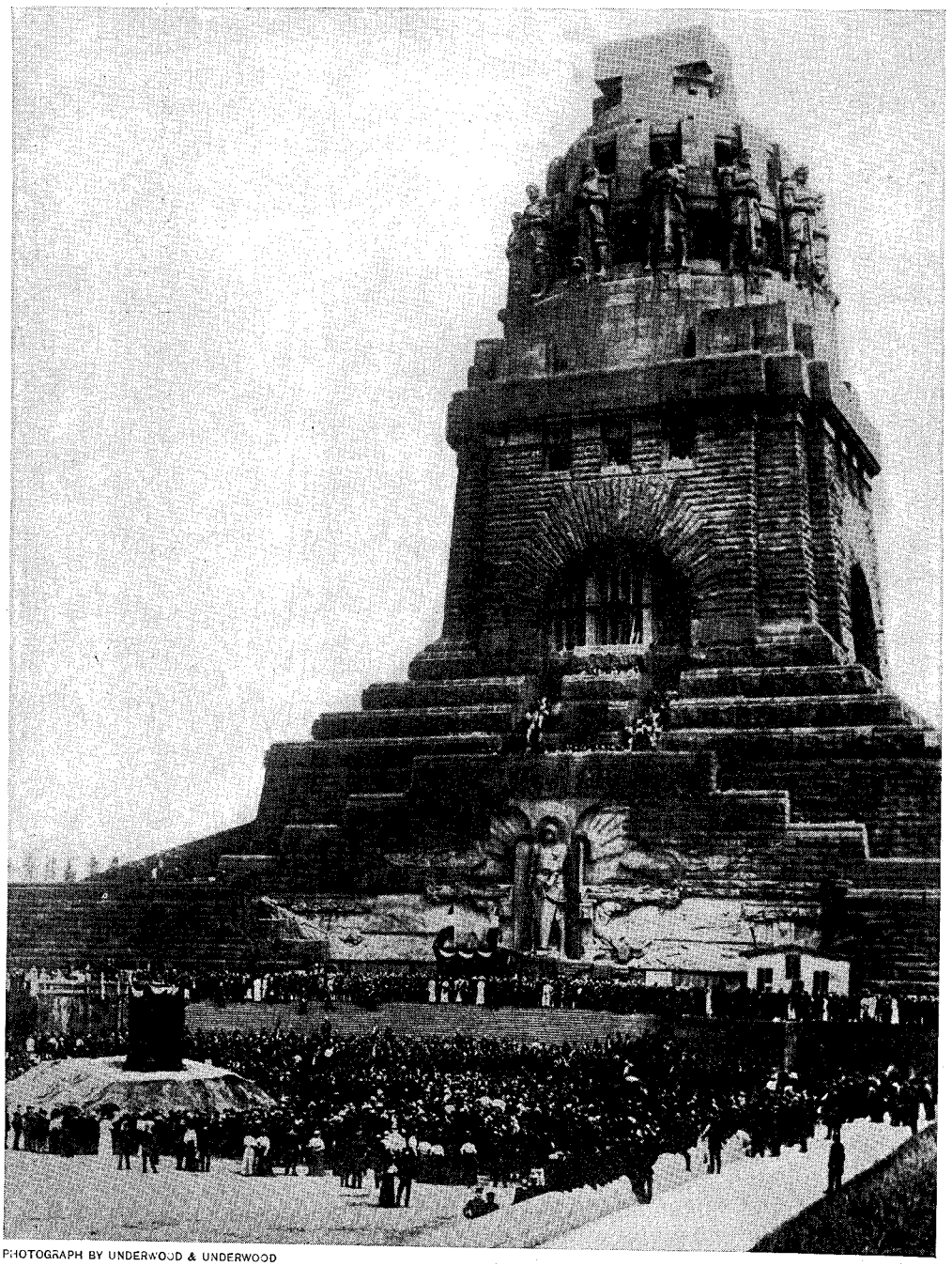
Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

A GREAT MONUMENT COMMEMORATING "THE BATTLE OF THE NATIONS"

A hundred years ago, October 16-18, at Leipsic, Germany, was fought this great battle between the French and the Allies, in which Napoleon's power was broken and the Germans were freed from the French yoke. This huge monument, just dedicated, is an embodiment of Germany's military pride as well as a memorial of the battle

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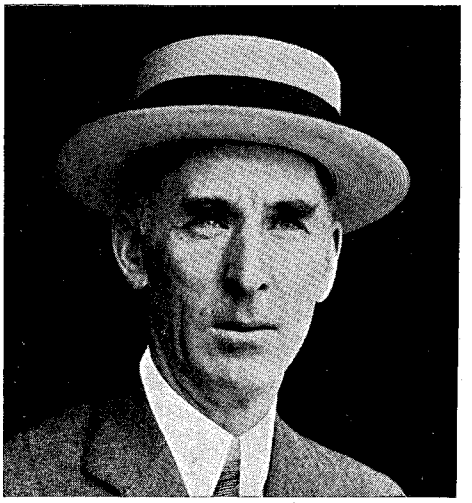
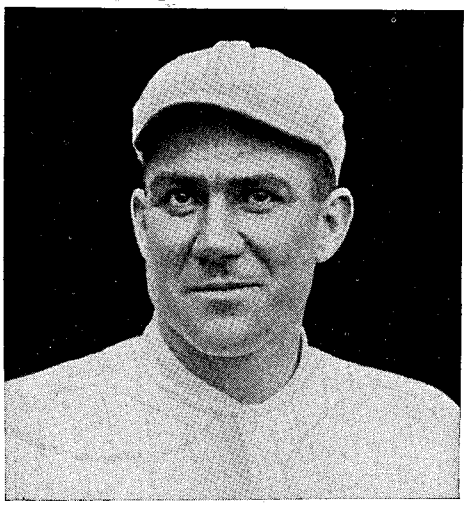
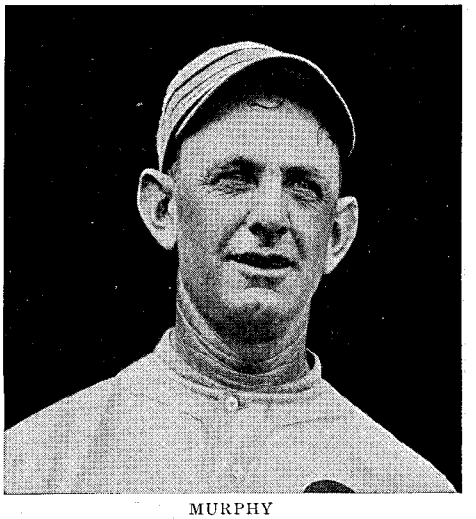
JOHN J. McGRAW
Manager of the New York Club



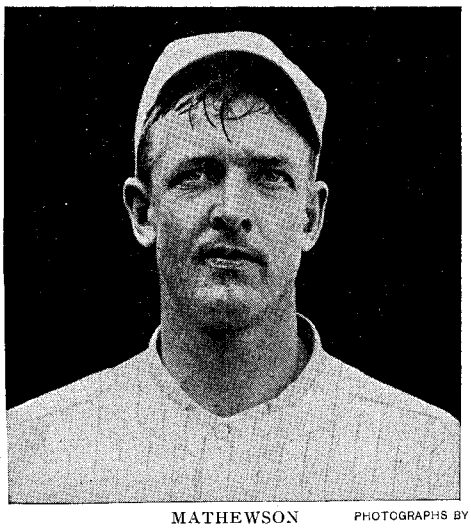
CONNIE MACK
Manager of the Philadelphia Club



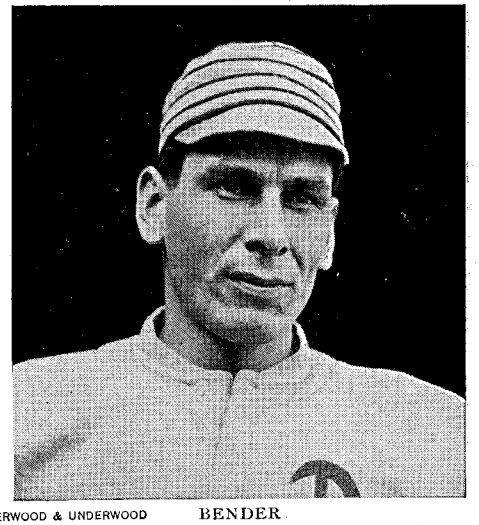
DOYLE
Captain of the "Giants"



MURPHY
Captain of the "Athletics"



MATHEWSON
One of New York's famous pitchers



BENDER
One of Philadelphia's pitchers, a full-blooded Indian

PHOTOGRAPHS BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

BASEBALL HEROES OF THE "WORLD'S SERIES"

Some leading figures in the games between the "Giants" of New York, champions of the National League, and the "Athletics" of Philadelphia, champions of the American League

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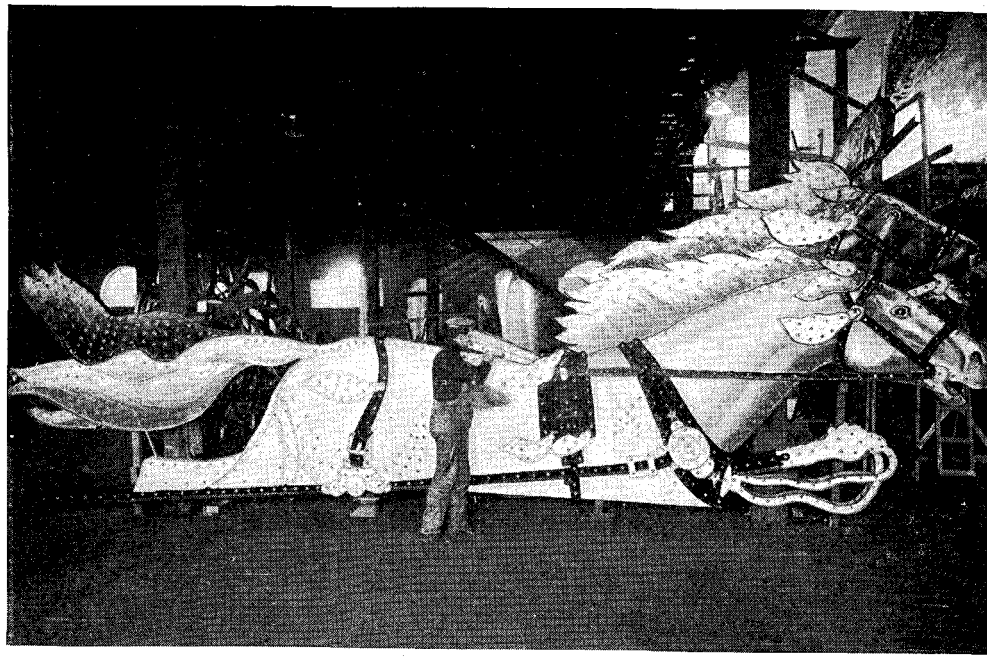

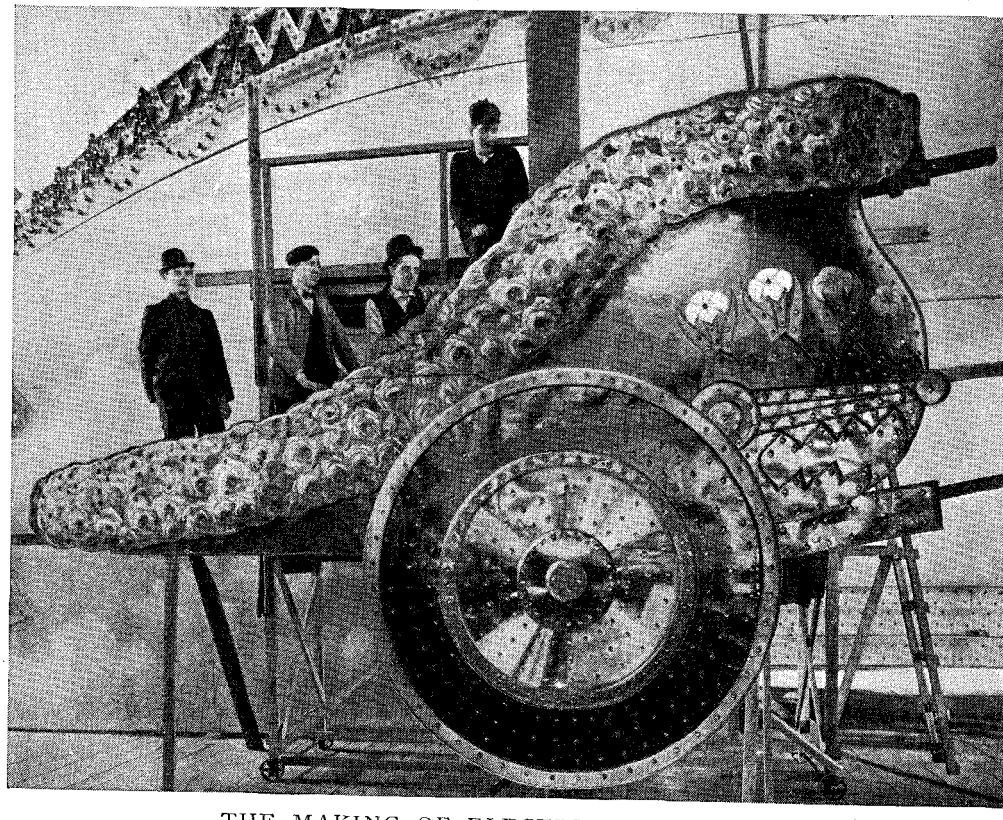

THE MAKING OF ELECTRIC "SKY SIGNS"

Electrically illuminated moving signs, placed on lofty buildings, have become a feature of the "Great White Way" in New York and in almost every other city in the country; the above pictures show the preparation of a "Roman chariot race," which exhibits the galloping horses and the rapidly moving chariot in most realistic fashion

See department "Many Inventions" for further comment

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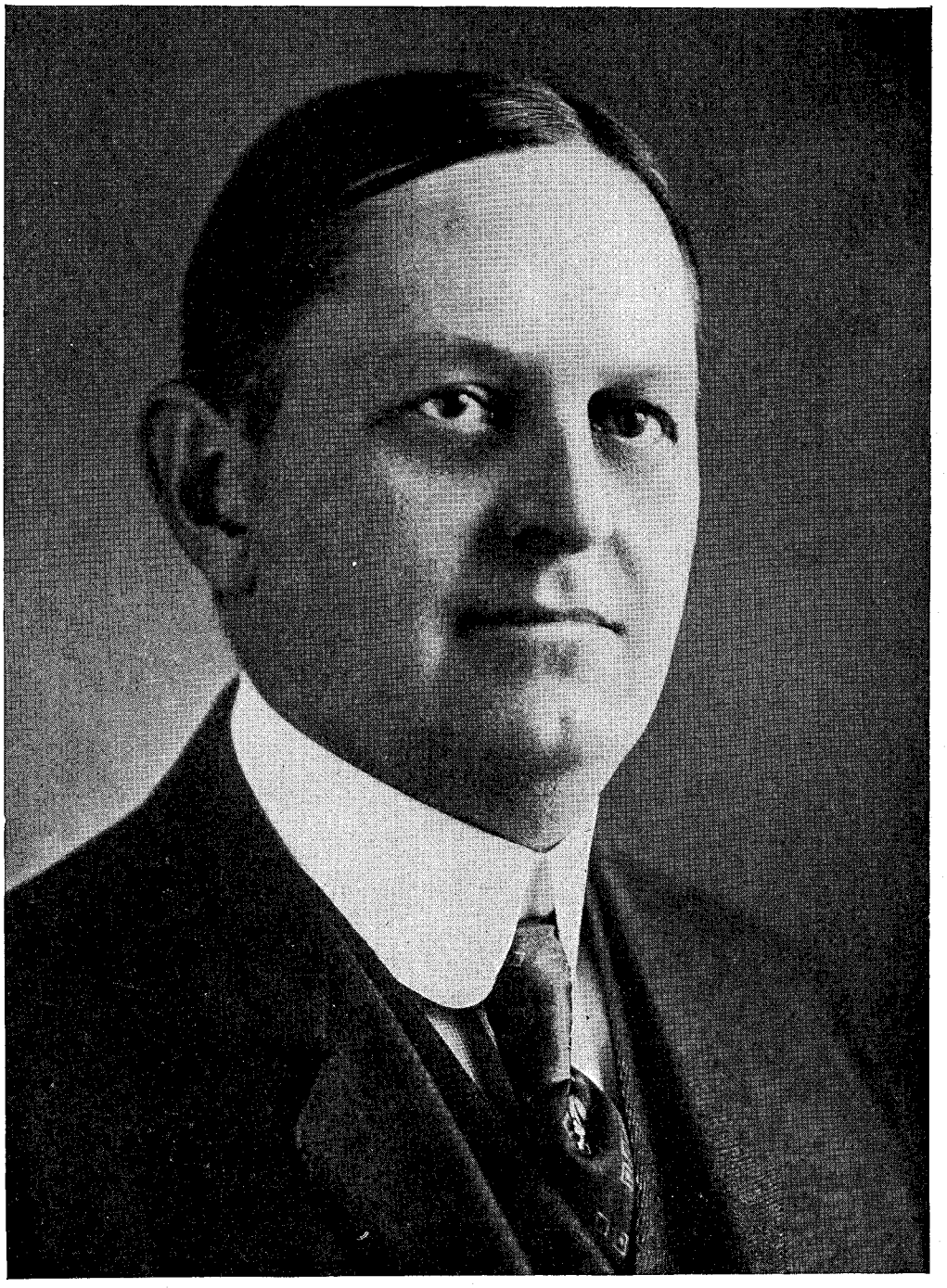

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OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee that framed the present Tariff Law

TWO ORIGINATORS OF

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CARTER GLASS

Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee that framed the present form of the Currency and Banking Bill

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UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

FELIX DIAZ
Labor Party

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

FEDERICO GAMBOA
Catholic Party

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

MANUEL CALERO
Liberal Party

CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF MEXICO

See editorial comment on another page

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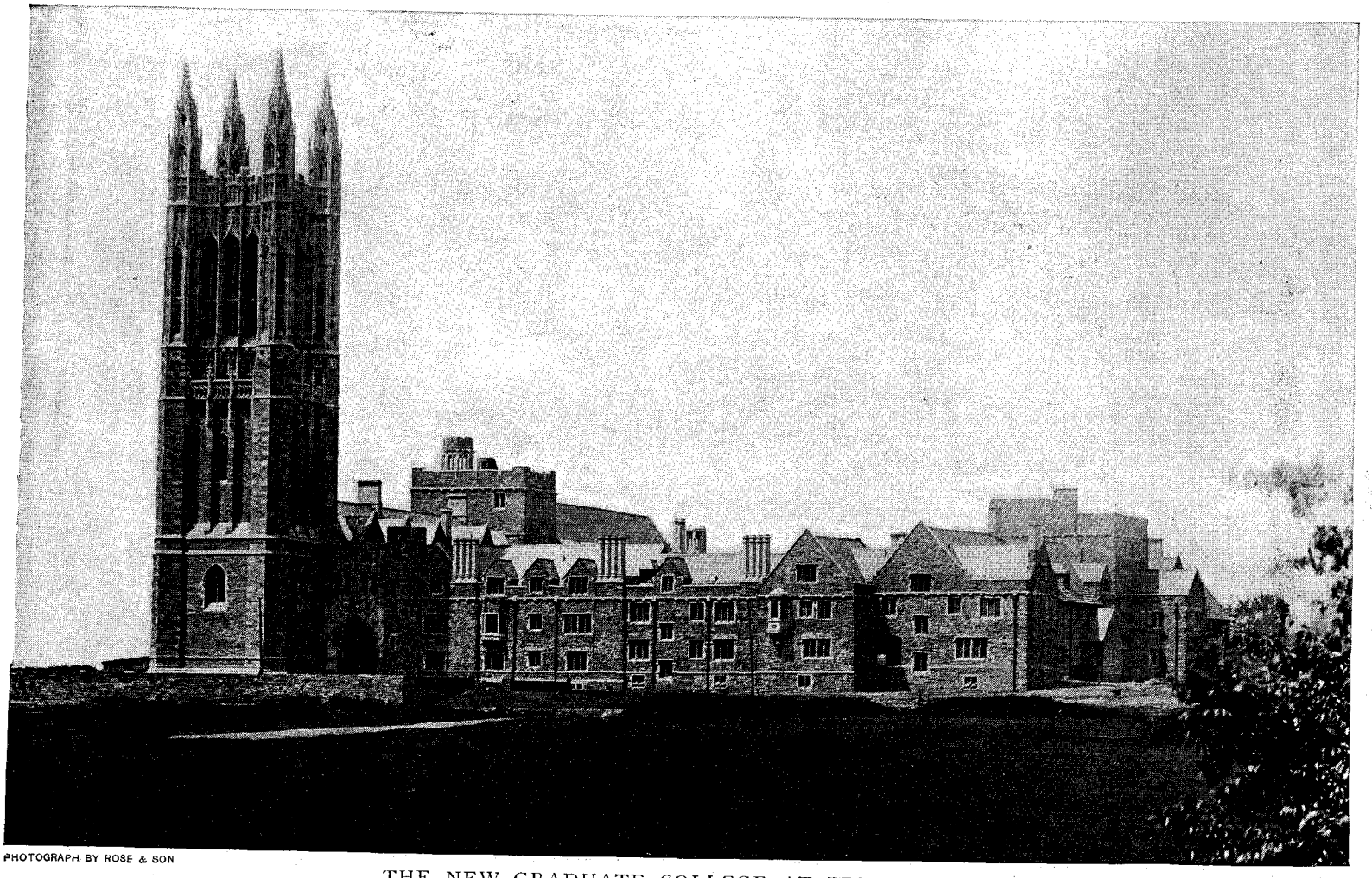

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROSE & SON

THE NEW GRADUATE COLLEGE AT PRINCETON

For an account of the College, which is to be dedicated on October 22, see the editorial pages

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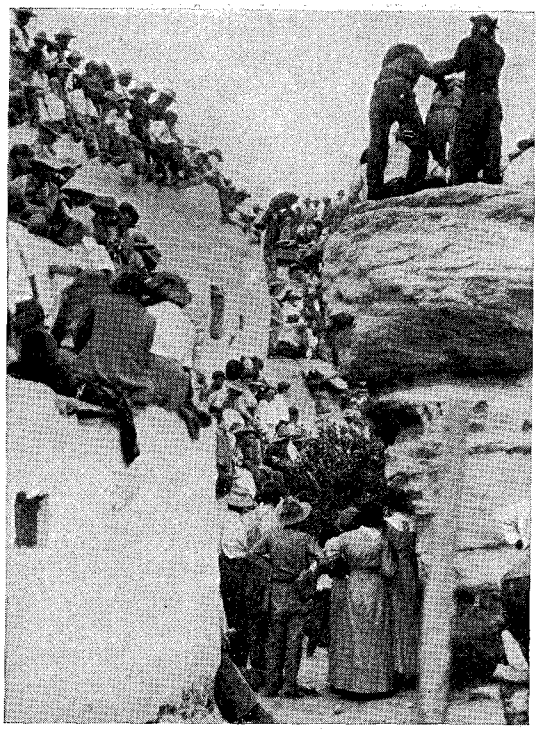
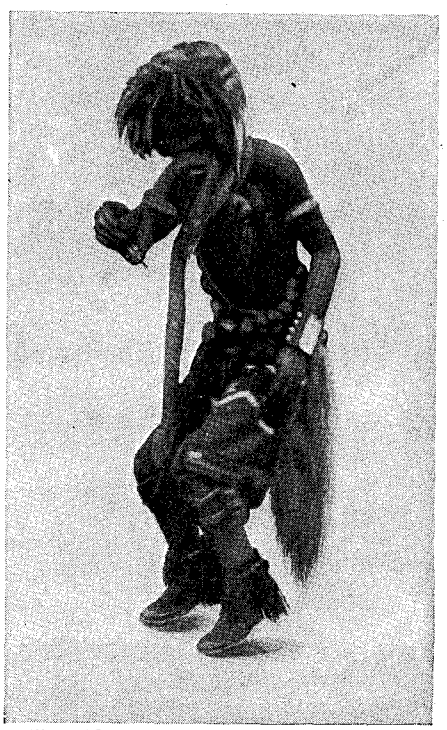


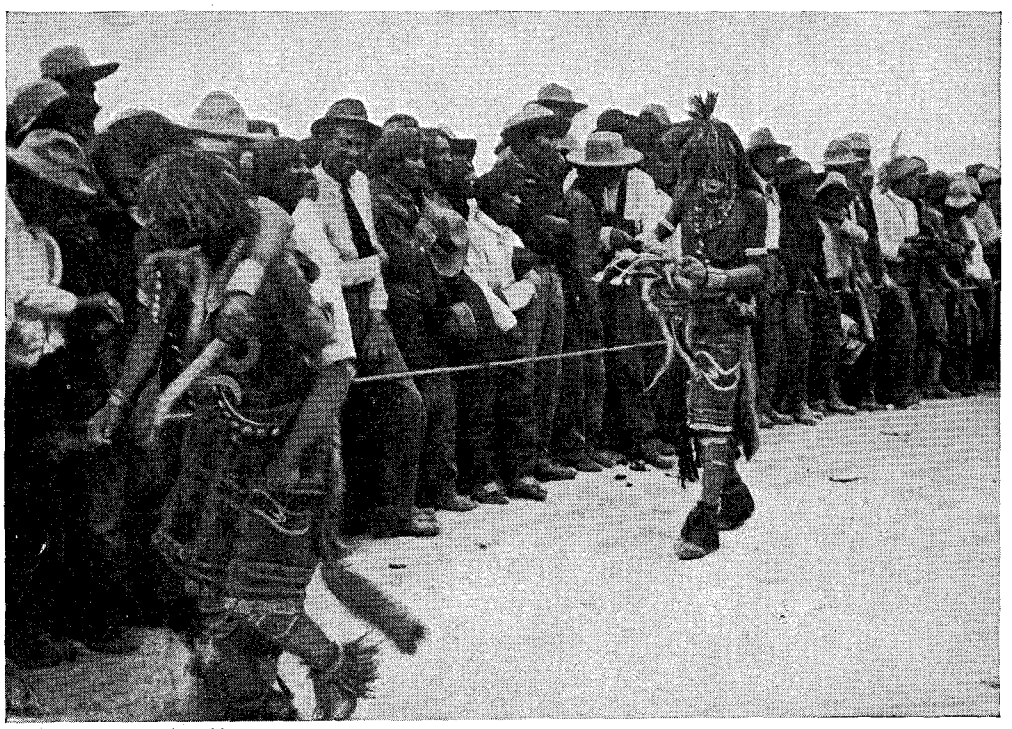
PHOTOGRAPH BY NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

LOOKERS-ON IN THE INDIAN VILLAGE



PHOTOGRAPH BY NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

THE SNAKE PRIEST



PHOTOGRAPH BY NICHOLAS ROOSEVELT

THE SNAKE DANCE

THE HOPI INDIANS AND THEIR SNAKE DANCE

See Mr. Roosevelt's article in this issue

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the hearing, and at the time of the writing of this article that point had not been decided. Over the protest of lawyers for the Governor it was decided to permit Senators Frawley, Ramsperger, Sanner, and Wagner to sit in the court. The three first named were protested because they had served as members of the committee that brought the charges against the executive on which the impeachment was based, and exception was taken to Senator Wagner's participation in the proceedings on the ground that he would become Lieutenant-Governor in the event of Mr. Sulzer's conviction and therefore might be considered prejudiced.

THE PITH OF THE CASE

Practically all of the evidence introduced by the prosecution bore on the first, second, and sixth charges against the Governor, namely, that he had filed a false statement of receipts and expenditures, that in swearing to the truth of this statement he had committed perjury, and that he had converted campaign contributions to his own use, speculating in stocks with some of these funds.

The bulk of the evidence introduced to prove the seventh charge was ruled out, and the prosecution made little effort to substantiate the third, fourth, and fifth accusations. It was shown, however, that while Mr. Sulzer had admitted the receipt of $5,460 from sixty-eight contributors, and expenditure of $7,724, he had failed to mention the receipt of some $40,000, much of which he had invested in stocks.

PLEAS OF THE DEFENSE

Counsel for the Governor staked their case on two propositions: first, that much of the money in question had been given to Mr. Sulzer without any proviso that it be used solely for campaign purposes; and, second, that the task of drawing up a statement of campaign receipts and expenditures had been left to the then candidate's secretary, Louis Sarecky, and that if any criminality attached to the failure to mention all the sums contributed to Mr. Sulzer's fund, the blame should fall on Mr. Sarecky. In other words, the suave, self-possessed young secretary, who proved to be the cleverest witness examined during the trial, was made "the goat" by the lawyers for the defense. The duel between the cool, alert Sarecky and Mr. John B. Stanchfield, one of the prosecuting attorneys and a master of the art of cross-examination, reminded some of the veteran correspondents of a similar matching of wits between Evelyn Nesbit Thaw and William Travers Jerome, then District Attorney, at the trial of Harry K. Thaw for murder. In both cases an experienced trial lawyer was pitted against a young and inexperienced but keen-minded witness, bent upon protecting the principal in the back-ground.

THE GOVERNOR'S APPEAL FOR LENITY

The most significant bit of testimony in the entire impeachment trial had no bearing on the guilt or innocence of the Governor on the charges brought against him. The testimony of Mr. Allan A. Ryan, the son of the financier Mr. Thomas Fortune Ryan, regarding a conversation he had with the Governor in New York City the week before the convening of the Court of Impeachment, contained a most suggestive revelation of the way the "system" works, and, coupled with the Governor's failure to take the witness stand and deny the Ryan testimony, served to alienate many of Mr. Sulzer's supporters. Mr. Ryan testified that on the occasion mentioned the Governor asked him to go to Washington to plead with Senator Elihu Root to intercede for the Governor with William Barnes, the Republican "boss" of New York State, and induce Mr. Barnes to order the Republican members of the Court of Impeachment to vote that the impeachment of Sulzer had been illegal. This request being refused, according to the witness, the Governor asked the younger Ryan to go to Mr. De Lancey Nicoll, a New York lawyer, and request the latter to take the same request to "Charley" Murphy, the Tammany Chief, that Senator Root was to have taken to Mr. Barnes, according to the alleged plans of the Governor. If Mr. Murphy called off the impeachment proceedings the Governor promised, according to Mr. Ryan, that he "would do whatever was right."

PRO AND CON

Whatever the legal merits of the case may be, before sentence is passed upon William Sulzer in the court of public opinion, his antecedents and training should be considered. Perhaps he was unscrupulous in his handling of campaign funds, certainly he was careless, and the fact that politicians are wont to cultivate what have been well called "easy ways with easy money," does not excuse his carelessness, although it may explain it. There

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are grounds for more than a suspicion that many men in public life have come to consider such laws as the Corrupt Practices Act, under which Mr. Sulzer's alleged offense falls, as mere formal warnings, rather than positive mandates or expressions of the popular will. In the stress and bustle of the campaign, other candidates, undoubtedly, have left the management of their finances to subordinates, just as Sulzer is shown to have done; where they improved upon his method, however, was in choosing reliable subordinates for this trust, rather than the flighty, absent-minded, if not dishonest, type of aide which Sarecky's own testimony shows him to have been. An unfortunate proclivity for choosing bad advisers has long been one of the Governor's most striking weaknesses.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that, whatever Sulzer's faults may be, since his election to the highest office in the State, at any rate, lack of courage has not at all times been one of them. In the nine months that he has occupied the Governorship he has made a record for efficient progressive public service that would compare favorably with the record of most of his predecessors during a period of like duration. He has vetoed many undesirable bills, reorganized the Department of Health and the Department of Labor, has promulgated a scientific good roads programme, and has created a Department of Efficiency and Economy to exert a restraining influence on the other departments. Apparently he has made an honest attempt to carry out his platform pledges, which cannot be said of all who preceded him in office.

Whatever his motives may have been in maintaining the fight for a good direct primary law, whether he was actuated by a sincere desire to secure democratic legislation, or whether he was moved solely by considerations of personal vengeance against the bosses with whom he had fallen out, the fact remains that, by carrying his fight against Tammany to the death, and forcing the Invisible Government to come into the open, Governor Sulzer performed a great public service, albeit in so doing he exposed himself as a man devoid of all finer sensibilities.

GREGORY MASON.

THE IMPEACHMENT AND ITS ISSUES

EDITORIAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the Sulzer trial there have been two distinct issues presented. These two issues should not be confused. One concerns the guilt or innocence of William Sulzer; the other concerns the Invisible Government. Important as the impeachment of a Governor is, it is secondary in importance to the freedom of a people from selfish, corrupt, and irresponsible rulers. Whether William Sulzer is believed to be worthy or unworthy of holding the office of Governor of New York was the particular question for the Court of Impeachment to decide; but there remains for the people to decide what they will do with the condition which has been revealed by this trial.

In the impeachment trial itself we may distinguish three questions: First, did William Sulzer do what he is charged with doing? As to that there is practically no dispute. Certain counts of the indictment were practically disregarded. Those counts which were really tried concern his use of money contributions. It is indisputable that he accepted contributions for which he did not publicly account. Second, was what he did legitimate, or was it reprehensibly careless, or was it morally or legally wrong? In the opinion of The Outlook, Mr. Sulzer's conduct in this respect cannot be justified in accordance with any high standards. It is possible that in some cases the gifts made to him were personal; and it is certainly neither contemplated by the law nor expected by public opinion that a candidate for office shall be stopped from receiving all personal gifts; but whether required by law or not, he ought to have been required by his own sense of honor to account for those gifts which were obviously intended for the purposes of his campaign. Third, was Mr. Sulzer's offense of such a character as to warrant his removal from office? That raises two more questions. One is whether the Court of Impeachment has a right, in morals and in common law, to remove a Governor for acts which are not in and of themselves illegal. We believe that a Court of Impeachment has such right. If a public officer has shown by overt act that his continuance in office is a

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menace to the freedom, the rights, and the well-being of the people over whom he has authority and whose servant he is, a Court of Impeachment has the right to say that he shall no longer be the people's trusted servant. It is to that end that Courts of Impeachment are found to be necessary. The people of the State have as much right to recall from a position of trust any man who has proved himself to their satisfaction egregiously unworthy of that trust as an individual employer has a right to remove from his stewardship any one who, even though he has violated no law, cannot be trusted in the care of his employer's property or his employer's children. Habitual drunkenness, for instance, is not a crime; but there is no doubt that for habitual drunkenness, if proved, a Governor should be impeached and removed. There remains the other question: Can a Court of Impeachment remove a Governor for any cause it professes to find sufficient? The answer seems to be plain that it can. The Court of Impeachment has to exercise this power, for there is no higher court to exercise the power for it. Those who regard it possible that a Court of Impeachment might remove a Governor for trivial reasons must remember that ultimately no system of check or restraint can prevent bad men in power from doing evil things, or save a people from their own incapacity or stupidity. No amount of fertilizer will enable a thistle to bear figs.

Just because a High Court of Impeachment has this final power for which as a court it cannot be held to account, it should exercise that power with utmost caution.

In the light of these general principles, in the light of the facts brought out at the trial, and in the light of the struggle that William Sulzer has had with the Tammany organization, we do not believe that his offenses, though undeniably grave, were of the sort that warrant even so high a court as the High Court of Impeachment to remove him from office.

But beside the other issue, the fate of William Sulzer is comparatively unimportant.

With regard to this other issue, the issue between a people and a group of irresponsible rulers, there can be no difference of opinion among honest men. This trial and its antecedents have revealed, so that every one can see it, a condition of affairs that a free people cannot tolerate. Two corrupt political machines, outwardly fighting one another for political supremacy, but behind the scenes in common alliance against any man, whether foolish and reckless or wise and brave, who undertakes to withstand them and thwart their common purposes, have deprived the people of the State of New York of their right to govern themselves. It happens that a man who has been neither wise nor, for the most part, brave, has been the occasion of bringing to light some of the consequences of this alliance. The people of the State of New York should from this trial learn this lesson: That they will never free themselves from the power of this alliance by first trusting one of the machines, and then, after finding that untrustworthy, turning to the other. They can never rid themselves of the tyranny from which they have suffered until they have discarded both together.

CREEDS

BY CHARLOTTE WILSON

Friend, you are grieved that I should go
Unhoused, unsheltered, gaunt, and free,
My cloak for shelter—for my tent
The roadside tree;

And I—I know not how you bear
A roof betwixt you and the blue.
Brother, the creed would stifle me
That shelters you.

Yet that same light that floods at dawn
Your cloistered room, your cryptic stair,
Wakes me, too—sleeping by the hedge—
To morning prayer!

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HENRY WARD BEECHER: A LEADER OF MEN

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

This is the substance of an address prepared for the Memorial Service to Mr. Beecher in Plymouth Church, October 12, under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute. The speakers were Newell Dwight Hillis, the present pastor of Plymouth Church, and Lyman Abbott, Mr. Beecher's first successor in the pastorate.—THE EDITORS.

MR. BEECHER came to Brooklyn in 1847. In 1849 I entered the University of the City of New York. When I graduated in 1853, Mr. Beecher was the most famous preacher in America, perhaps in the world, and the most sharply criticised. He never fell under the condemnation pronounced against the prophet of whom all men speak well. As a boy I was a member of Plymouth Church and felt the inspiration of its preacher's eloquence. Circumstances even then brought me into close contact with him and made him a friend. Later I was for some years associated with him in the journal which he had founded; and on his death I succeeded him in the pulpit. I am here endeavoring to forget the debt I owe him, the friendship I enjoyed with him, the association I had with him, and the peculiar privilege of being permitted to carry on his ministry. I endeavor to detach myself from him, and, as a student of the dramatic events and the developing thought of the last sixty years, I seek to interpret his share in that time and that thought development.

Mr. Beecher was a great orator; the greatest orator, I think, America has ever seen. The brilliance of his oratory has obscured his other qualities. The fame of the orator hardly survives the echoes of his speech. Like the actor, he is soon forgotten. And because Mr. Beecher was so great an orator, history is prone to forget the substantial service he rendered his age as a leader of men.

In 1850 half the continent was under the absolute domination of the slave power and the other half was rapidly coming under its domination. Men were beginning to ask themselves with troubled hearts what should be done about it. There were eulogists of slavery, who praised it as alike beneficial to the Negro and the white man; apologists for slavery, who regretted its existence, but thought it an inevitable evil; abolitionists, who insisted that it was the Federal power which made slavery possible, and who insisted that it was the duty of the North to dissolve the Union, that the slave might by insurrection free himself. Mr. Beecher saw clearly, and used the whole power of his eloquence to make the Nation see clearly, the one possible solution of this perplexing problem. It was to be framed in a sentence: Slavery local, liberty National. Put, he said, a cordon around slavery, forbid its accession of new territory, forbid its extension into regions now dedicated to liberty, and it will die peacefully, as it has died in the North and has died everywhere else in Christendom. He has often been called an abolitionist. But he was *not* an abolitionist. His doctrine was that of Chase and Seward and Lincoln. If he was not the first to enunciate that principle, he was among the first; he declared it before Seward proclaimed the doctrine of a higher law, or the doctrine of an irrepressible conflict. Looking back, the path across that storm-swept sea seems as plain as seems the path which Columbus sailed to the modern navigator; but not so then. As a reformer Mr. Beecher was equally free from the impracticable and immoral schemes of Garrison and Phillips, and from the impracticable and immoral compromises of Fillmore, Pierce, and Webster.

Slavery was abolished; secession was defeated; the slave power was conquered. Then came the Reconstruction period. What should the victorious North do with the conquered South and with the emancipated Negro? There were those who wished to establish on the ruins of slavery a new feudalism, with the Negro attached to the soil a serf, not a freeman. There were those who wished to give to the freeman all the prerogatives of citizenship; to clothe him with the ballot; to induct him into public offices, State and National; to make him the master where he had been the slave. Mr. Beecher fought peonage, on the one hand, and the enthronement of ignorance and incompetence, on the other. As he had been eloquent for war

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when the South took arms against the Nation, so he was eloquent for peace when the South laid down its arms. He enunciated the two principles which should have guided the Nation throughout this perilous time. The one was that the Negro must be taught to govern himself before he can govern others. The other was that the Negro and the white man must live together in the South, and therefore the first care of the victorious North must be to establish and promote friendly relations between them. Thus, and thus only, could friendly relations be established between the North and the South and a real and vital union be knitted together between the several sections. These counsels were not followed. Ignorance and incompetence were made masters. Southern men will tell you to-day that the South suffered not less from this demoralizing and distressing Reconstruction policy than from the war. And we waited half a century for the gradual restoration of the old friendship between white man and Negro, and for that mingling of the blue and the gray which made luminous with a glory before unheard of in history the recent celebration of the centennial of the Battle of Gettysburg.

Mr. Darwin's publication in 1859 of his "Origin of Species" brought to the knowledge of the whole world a theory of evolution which had before been only the unproved faith of a few relatively unknown thinkers. The whole religious world was aghast. It well might be. For the theology of the religious world, Protestant and Roman Catholic, from the time of Augustine had been that God completed his creation in six days, and since then had rested, doing nothing; that in the cradle of his new world he put a perfect man fulfilling his ideas of what manhood should be; that this perfect man had sinned, and all his descendants had inherited his sinful nature; that there was but one escape from endless death—the sacrifice of an innocent victim who would consent to bear the sinner's penalty and let the sinner go free; and that those, and only those, who accepted this vicarious sacrifice could be saved from the sentence pronounced upon our race. Evolution denied the fundamental principle on which this whole superstructure had been reared. According to evolution, creation is a continuous process, every day is a creative day; God never rests, but ever works, the source and fountain of all life; man is slowly emerging from a lower animal order; the origin of sin is not a fall of a progenitor of the race six thousand years ago; its defeat is in the domination by the developing spirit in man of the not yet subdued animal from which he is being emancipated.

This doctrine was vehemently denounced as destructive of the old theology—as it was; and of the old religion—as it was not. Mr. Beecher was one of the first to welcome it. I believe that it was partly owing to his suggestion that the works of Darwin, Huxley. Tyndall, and Spencer were introduced and republished in this country. He took, so to speak, the stump in support of the new doctrine. He lectured throughout the country on Evolution and Religion, later developed this lecture into a series of Sabbath sermons, and undertook to show the plain people that evolution gave to creation and redemption a new and better meaning and made faith easier and hope brighter. There are still some belated preachers who endeavor to persuade their congregations that evolution is perilous to the soul, and who found their religious teaching on the old doctrines of a finished creation, an absentee God, and a pestilent-stricken world; and there are others who have no theology and are content to preach an æsthetical culture not rooted in any religious faith; but no one any longer asks sarcastically, So you think your grandfather was an ape? and few are they who still venture to denounce as atheists those who believe in life as a process of divine growth, and redemption as a process of spiritual development.

Out of this doctrine of evolution, and closely associated with it, grew the new view of the Bible, as not a book at all, but a library; not dictated like the Koran in a single generation to be accepted as a substitute for right reason, but as the sacred literature of a chosen people, carrying with it the message of Israel to the world, a message developing as the nation developed, and not always understood or correctly interpreted by the messengers. This doctrine, which sets aside the infallible Book as Luther in the sixteenth century had set aside the infallible Church, Mr. Beecher accepted and applied in his use of the Bible. No one would look to Mr. Beecher for the kind of scholarly erudition as to origins and dates and authorship which one finds in Driver. But I do not know any better book to-day for the preacher to study who wishes to learn how to use such erudition in interpretation of the new Bible than

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Mr. Beecher's "Bible Studies," preached in 1878–9.

I was present—the year was probably 1870, though I am not sure—at an interview between Mr. Moody and Mr. Beecher in which the former urged Mr. Beecher to leave Plymouth Church for a world-wide evangelistic tour with him. After Mr. Moody had gone, Mr. Beecher said to me: "I should like to do it, but it is impossible. We do not agree. Mr. Moody believes that this is a lost world, and he is trying to save some from the wreck. I believe that it is the world itself which is to be saved, and the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ."

By temperament and training an extreme individualist, and in political views an individualist to the day of his death, Mr. Beecher was a pioneer in that movement which has given birth in our time to a social Christianity, a movement so admirably interpreted by President King, of Oberlin, in his "Theology and the Social Consciousness," and finding practical expression in the Men and Religion Movement which has instituted a new species of revival. It was Mr. Beecher's faith that Jesus Christ came into the world to make possible the answer to his prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven," that made him a moral reformer when the American Tract Society, the Home Missionary Society, the American Board, and many churches were silent respecting slavery. He was not an anti-slavery man *and* a preacher of the Gospel; he was an anti-slavery man because he believed that liberty and justice are a part of the Gospel.

Mr. Beecher was a broad churchman. He believed in the Church more than he did in the churches. When he founded the "Christian Union" in 1870 for the purpose of promoting the union of all Christians in doing Christ's work, his experiment—for then it was an experiment—was greeted with derision. That there was or could be any Christianity broader than that of the various sects with their various creeds was deemed preposterous. Such an undenominational Christianity was scoffed at as sentimental, boneless, nerveless. It is both amazing and amusing in this year 1913 to read what was said by learned doctors of divinity on this theme in 1870. A hard battle, as I have reason to know, the "Christian Union" had for the first twenty years of its existence. It was for a time the sole representative of an inorganic church larger and more spiritual than any sect. But it was the prophet of an age which has created the Federation of Churches, bound together, not by what they believe about the Master, but by what they are willing to do under his leadership, and of that Ecumenical Council of the Churches, to be held I believe in 1915, to see what progress can be made toward a common organization as well as a common work inspired by a common spirit.

Dr. George A. Gordon in a recent estimate of Mr. Beecher has said that he was not a theologian. Perhaps not. But I believe no two men in our time have so profoundly influenced theological thought as Henry Ward Beecher and Horace Bushnell—Horace Bushnell by transforming a religion of dogmatic beliefs into a religion of spiritual faith, and Mr. Beecher by transforming a religion of obedience to law into a religion of love and life. The Puritanism of the first half of the nineteenth century, as represented by even so liberal a churchman as Lyman Beecher, regarded God as the Moral Governor of the Universe, the Bible as a Book of Laws, religion as obedience to those laws, and redemption as forgiveness offered for the sake of Another to one who had transgressed those laws. Henry Ward Beecher, from that first experience of divine love which he so often and so eloquently described, believed and taught the Fatherhood of God, the Bible his counsels to men through men, redemption the acceptance of life freely offered by the Father to his children, sacrifice as always self-sacrifice, Christ not as a mediator between an unknown God and his children but as the revelation of an invisible God in visible form, and the religion of Jesus Christ as the liberty of the glory of the children of God. He believed and taught with Isaiah, "I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for *mine own sake.*' With the Psalmist he believed and taught that God is and always has been a Father who forgives our iniquities, heals our diseases, redeems our life from destruction, crowns us with loving-kindness and tender mercies, and fills our age with good so that our youth is renewed like the eagle's.

As reformer, statesman, evolutionist, Biblical teacher, ethical teacher, broad churchman, theologian, Mr. Beecher was a leader of men; leader because a loyal follower of Him who has been the greatest Leader of Men the world's history has ever known.

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THE HOPI SNAKE DANCE

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

This article concludes the series of three articles by Mr. Roosevelt about his Arizona experiences of last summer. Pictures illustrating this article will be found in the department "Current Events Pictorially Treated."—THE EDITORS.

ON our trip we not only traversed the domains of two totally different and very interesting and advanced Indian tribes, but we also met all sorts and conditions of white men. One of the latter, by the way, related an anecdote which delighted me because of its unexpected racial implications. The narrator was a Mormon, the son of an English immigrant. He had visited Belgium as a missionary. While there he went to a theater to hear an American Negro minstrel troupe; and, happening to meet one of the minstrels in the street, he hailed him with "Hello, Sam!" to which the pleased and astonished minstrel cordially responded, "Well, for de Lawd's sake! Who'd expect to see a white man in this country?"

I did not happen to run across any Mormons at the Snake Dance; but it seemed to me that almost every other class of Americans was represented—tourists, traders, cattlemen, farmers, Government officials, politicians, cowboys, scientists, philanthropists, all kinds of men and women. We were especially glad to meet the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. Abbot, one of the most useful public servants in Uncle Sam's employ. Mr. Hubbell, whose courtesy towards us was unwearied, met us; and we owed our comfortable quarters to the kindness of the Indian Agent, Mr. Crane, and of Mr. Drummond, his assistant; and Mr. and Mrs. Drummond were most hospitable. As I rode in I was accosted by Miss Natalie Curtis, who has done so very much to give to Indian culture its proper position. Miss Curtis's purpose has been to preserve and perpetuate all the cultural development to which the Indian has already attained—in art, music, poetry, or manufacture—and, moreover, to endeavor to secure the further development and adaptation of this Indian culture so as to make it, what it can undoubtedly be made, an important constituent element in our National cultural development.

Among the others at the snake dance was Geoffrey O'Hara, whom Secretary of the Interior Lane has so wisely appointed Instructor of Native Indian Music. Mr. O'Hara's purpose is to perpetuate and develop the wealth of Indian music and poetry—and ultimately the rhythmical dancing that goes with the music and poetry. The Indian children already know most of the poetry, with its peculiarly baffling rhythm. Mr. O'Hara wishes to appoint special Indian instructors of this music, carefully chosen, in the schools; as he said, "If the Navajo can bring with him into civilization the ability to preserve his striking and bewildering rhythm, he will have done in music what Thorpe, the Olympic champion, did in athletics." Miss Curtis and Mr. O'Hara represent the effort to perpetuate Indian art in the life of the Indian to-day, not only for his sake, but for our own. This side of Indian life is entirely unrevealed to most white men; and there is urgent need from the standpoint of the white man himself of a proper appreciation of native art. Such appreciation may mean much towards helping the development of an original American art for our whole people.

No white visitor to Walpi was quite as interesting as an Indian visitor, a Navajo who was the owner and chauffeur of the motor in which Mr. Hubbell had driven to Walpi. He was an excellent example of the Indian who ought to be given the chance to go to a non-reservation school—a class not perhaps as yet relatively very large, but which will grow steadily larger. He had gone to such a school; and at the close of his course had entered the machine shops of the Santa Fé and Northeastern Railway—I think that was the name of the road—staying there four years, joining the local union, going out with the other men when they struck, and having in all ways precisely the experience of the average skilled mechanic. Then he returned to the reservation, where he is now a prosperous merchant, running two stores; and he purchased his automobile as a matter of convenience and of economy in time, so as to get quickly from one store to the other, as they are far apart. He is not a Christian, nor is his wife; but his children have been

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baptized in the Catholic Church. Of course such a prosperous career is exceptional for an Indian, as it would be exceptional for a white man; but there were Hopi Indians whom we met at the dance, both storekeepers and farmers, whose success had been almost as great. Among both the Navajos and Hopis the progress has been marked during the last thirty or forty years, and is more rapid now than ever before, and careers such as those just mentioned will in their essence be repeated again and again by members of both tribes in the near future. The Hopis are so far advanced that most of them can now fully profit by non-reservation schools. For large sections of the Navajos the advance must be slower. For these the agency school is the best school, and their industrial training should primarily be such as will fit them for work in their own homes, and for making these homes cleaner and better.

Of course the advance in any given case is apt to be both fitful and one-sided—the marvel is that it is not more so. Moreover, the advance is sometimes taking place when there seems dishearteningly little evidence of it. I have never respected any men or women more than some of the missionaries and their wives—there were examples on the Navajo reservation—who bravely and uncomplainingly labor for righteousness, although knowing that the visible fruits of their labor will probably be gathered by others in a later generation. These missionaries may fail to make many converts at the moment, and yet they may unconsciously produce such an effect that the men and women who themselves remain heathen are rather pleased to have their children become Christians. I have in mind, as illustrating just what I mean, one missionary family on the Navajo reservation whom it was an inspiration to meet; and, by the way, the Christian Navajo interpreter at their mission, with his pretty wife and children, gave fine proof of what the right education can do for the Indian.

Among those at the snake dance was Father Webber, of the Franciscans, who have done much good work on the Navajo reservation. Father Webber has attained great influence with the Navajos because of his work for their practical betterment. He doesn't try to convert the adults; but he has worked with much success among the children. Father Webber, like every competent judge I met, strongly protested against opening or cutting down the Navajo reservation. I heartily agree with him. Such an act would be a cruel wrong, and would benefit only a few wealthy cattle and sheep men.

There has apparently been more missionary success among the adult Hopis than among the adult Navajos; at any rate, I came across a Baptist congregation of some thirty members, and from information given me I am convinced that these converts stood in all ways ahead of their heathen brethren. Exceptional qualities of courage, hard-headed common sense, sympathy, and understanding are needed by the missionary who is to do really first-class work; even more exceptional than are the qualities needed by the head of a white congregation under present conditions. The most marked successes have been won by men, themselves of lofty and broad-minded spirituality, who have respected the advances already made by the Indian towards a higher spiritual life, and instead of condemning these advances have made use of them in bringing his soul to a loftier level. One very important service rendered by the missionaries is their warfare on what is evil among the white men on the reservations; they are most potent allies in warring against drink and sexual immorality, two of the greatest curses with which the Indian has to contend. The missionary is always the foe of the white man of loose life, and of the white man who sells whisky. Many of the missionaries, including all who do most good, are active in protecting the rights of each Indian to his land. Like the rest of us, the missionary needs to keep in mind the fact that the Indian criminal is on the whole more dangerous to the well-meaning Indian than any outsider can at present be; for there are as wide differences of character and conduct among Indians as among whites, and there is the same need in the one case as in the other of treating each individual according to his conduct—and of persuading the people of his own class and color thus to treat him.

Several times we walked up the precipitous cliff trails to the mesa top, and visited the three villages thereon. We were received with friendly courtesy—perhaps partly because we endeavored to show good manners ourselves, which, I am sorry to say, is not invariably the case with tourists. The houses were colored red or white; and the houses individually, and the villages as villages, compared favorably with the average dwelling or village in many of the southern portions of

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Mediterranean Europe. Contrary to what we had seen in the Hopi village near Tuba, most of the houses were scrupulously clean; although the condition of the streets—while not worse than in the Mediterranean villages above referred to—showed urgent need of a crusade for sanitation and elementary hygiene. The men and women were well dressed, in clothes quite as picturesque as, and quite as near our own garb, as the dress of many European peasants of a good type; aside, of course, from the priests and young men who were preparing for the ceremonial dance, and who were clad, or unclad, according to the ancient ritual. There were several rooms in each house; and the furniture included stoves, sewing-machines, chairs, window panes of glass, and sometimes window curtains. There were wagons in one or two of the squares, for a wagon road has been built to one end of the mesa; and we saw donkeys laden with fagots or water—another south European analogy.

Altogether, the predominant impression made by the sight of the ordinary life—not the strange heathen ceremonies—was that of a reasonably advanced, and still advancing, semi-civilization; not savagery at all. There is big room for improvement; but so there is among whites; and while the improvement should be along the lines of gradual assimilation to the life of the best whites, it should unquestionably be so shaped as to preserve and develop the very real element of native culture possessed by these Indians—which, as I have already said, if thus preserved and developed, may in the end become an important contribution to American cultural life. Ultimately I hope the Indian will be absorbed into the white population, on a full equality; as was true, for instance, of the Indians who served in my own regiment, the Rough Riders; as is true on the Navajo reservation itself of two of the best men thereon, both in Government employ, both partly of northern Indian blood, and both indistinguishable from the most upright and efficient of the men of pure white blood.

Canon Douglas, of the Episcopal Cathedral at Fond du Lac, took me into one of the houses to look at the pottery. The grandmother of the house was the pottery-maker, and, entirely unhelped from without and with no incentive of material reward, but purely to gratify her own innate artistic feeling, she had developed the art of pottery-making to a very unusual degree; it was really beautiful pottery. On the walls, as in most of the other houses, were picture-cards and photographs, including those of her children and grandchildren, singly and grouped with their schoolmates. Two of her daughters and half a dozen grandchildren were present, and it was evident that the family life was gentle and attractive. The grandfather was not a Christian, but "he is one of the best old men I ever knew, and I must say that I admire and owe him much, if I am a parson," said Mr. Douglas. The Hopis are monogamous, and the women are well treated; the man tills the fields and weaves, and may often be seen bringing in fire-wood; and the fondness of both father and mother for their children is very evident.

Many well-informed and well-meaning men are apt to protest against the effort to keep and develop what is best in the Indian's own historic life as incompatible with making him an American citizen, and speak of those of opposite views as wishing to preserve the Indians only as National bric-à-brac. This is not so. We believe in fitting him for citizenship as rapidly as possible. But where he cannot be pushed ahead rapidly we believe in making progress slowly, and in all cases where it is possible we hope to keep for him and for us what was best in his old culture. As eminently practical men as Mr. Frissell, the head of Hampton Institute (an educational model for white, red, and black men alike), and Mr. Valentine, the late Commissioner of Indian Affairs, have agreed with Miss Curtis in drawing up a scheme for the payment from private sources of a number of high-grade, specially fitted educational experts, whose duty it should be to correlate all the agencies, public and private, that are working for Indian education, and also to make this education, not a mechanical impress from without, but a drawing out of the qualities that are within. The Indians themselves must be used in such education; many of their old men can speak as sincerely, as fervently, and as eloquently of duty as any white teacher, and these old men are the very teachers best fitted to perpetuate the Indian poetry and music. The effort should be to develop the existing art—whether in silver-making, pottery-making, blanket and basket weaving, or lace knitting—and not to replace it by servile and mechanical copying. This is only to apply to the Indian a principle which ought to be recognized among all our people. A great art must be living, must

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spring from the soul of the people; if it represents merely a copying, an imitation, and if it is confined to a small caste, it cannot be great.

Of course all Indians should not be forced into the same mold. Some can be made farmers; others mechanics; yet others have the soul of the artist. Let us try to give each his chance to develop what is best in him. Moreover, let us be wary of interfering overmuch with either his work or his play. It is mere tyranny, for instance, to stop all Indian dances. Some which are obscene, or which are dangerous on other grounds, must be prohibited. Others should be permitted, and many of them encouraged. Nothing that tells for the joy of life, in any community, should be lightly touched.

A few Indians may be able to turn themselves into ordinary citizens in a dozen years. Give these exceptional Indians every chance; but remember that the majority must change gradually, and that it will take generations to make the change complete. Help them to make it in such fashion that when the change is accomplished we shall find that the original and valuable elements in the Indian culture have been retained, so that the new citizens come with full hands into the great field of American life, and contribute to that life something of marked value to all of us, something which it would be a misfortune to all of us to have destroyed.

As an example, take the case of these Hopi mesa towns, perched in such boldly picturesque fashion on high, sheer-walled rock ridges. Many good people wish to force the Hopis to desert these towns, and live in isolated families in nice tin-roofed houses on the plains below. I believe that this would be a mistake from the standpoint of the Indians—not to mention depriving our country of something as notable and as attractive as the castles that have helped make the Rhine beautiful and famous. Let the effort be to insist on cleanliness and sanitation in the villages as they are, and especially to train the Indians themselves to insist thereon; and to make it easier for them to get water. In insisting on cleanliness, remember that we preach a realizable ideal; our own ancestors lived in villages as filthy not three centuries ago. The breezy coolness of the rocky mesa top and the magnificent outlook would make it to me personally a far more attractive dwelling-place than the hot, dusty plains. Moreover, the present Hopi house, with its thick roof, is cooler and pleasanter than a tin-roofed house. I believe it would be far wiser gradually to develop the Hopi house itself, making it more commodious and convenient, rather than to abandon it and plant the Indian in a brand-new Government-built house, precisely like some ten million other cheap houses. The Hopi architecture is a product of its own environment; it is as picturesque as anything of the kind which our art students travel to Spain in order to study. Therefore let us keep it. The Hopi architecture can be kept, adapted, and developed just as we have kept, adapted, and developed the Mission architecture of the Southwest—with the results seen in beautiful Leland Stanford University. The University of New Mexico is, most wisely, modeled on these pueblo buildings; and Mr. Frank Mead, the architect, has done admirable work of the kind by adapting Indian architectural ideas in some of his California houses. The Hopi is himself already thus developing it; as I have said, he has put glass windows in his house, and larger doors; he is furnishing it, he is making it continually more livable. Give him a chance to utilize his own inherent sense of beauty in making over his own village for himself. Give him a chance to lead his own life as he ought to; and realize that he has something to teach us as well as to learn from us. The Hopi of the younger generation, at least in some of the towns, is changing rapidly; and it is safe to leave it to him to decide where he will build and keep his house.

I cannot so much as touch on the absorbingly interesting questions of the Hopis' spiritual and religious life, and of the amount of deference that can properly be paid to one side of this life. The snake dance and antelope dance, which we had come to see, are not only interesting as relics of an almost inconceivably remote and savage past—analogous to the past wherein our own ancestors once dwelt—but also represent a mystic symbolism which has in it elements that are ennobling and not debasing. These dances are prayers or invocations for rain, the crowning blessing in this dry land. The rain is adored and invoked both as male and female; the gentle steady downpour is the female, the storm with lightning the male. The lightning stick is "strong medicine," and is used in all these religious ceremonies. The snakes, the brothers of men, as are all living things in the Hopi's creed, are besought to tell the beings of the underworld man's need of water.

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As a former great chief at Washington I was admitted to the sacred room, or one-roomed house, the kiva, in which the chosen snake priests had for a fortnight been getting ready for the sacred dance. Very few white men have been thus admitted, and never unless it is known that they will treat with courtesy and respect what the Indians revere. Entrance to the house, which was sunk in the rock, was through a hole in the roof, down a ladder across whose top hung a cord from which fluttered three eagle plumes and dangled three small animal skins. Below was a room perhaps fifteen feet by twenty-five. One end of it, occupying perhaps a third of its length, was raised a foot above the rest, and the ladder led down to this raised part. Against the rear wall of this raised part or dais lay thirty-odd rattlesnakes, most of them in a twined heap in one corner, but a dozen by themselves scattered along the wall. There was also a pot containing several striped ribbon-snakes, too lively to be left at large. Eight or ten priests, some old, some young, sat on the floor in the lower and larger two-thirds of the room, and greeted me with grave courtesy; they spread a blanket on the edge of the dais, and I sat down, with my back to the snakes and about eight feet from them; a little behind and to one side of me sat a priest with a kind of fan or brush made of two or three wing plumes of an eagle, who kept quiet guard over his serpent wards. At the farther end of the room was the altar; the rude picture of a coyote was painted on the floor, and on the four sides paintings of snakes; on three sides it was hemmed in by lightning-sticks standing upright in little clay cups, and on the fourth side by eagle plumes held similarly erect. Some of the priests were smoking—for pleasure, not ceremonially—and they were working at parts of the ceremonial dress. One had a cast rattlesnake skin which he was chewing, to limber it up, just as Sioux squaws used to chew buckskin. Another was fixing a leather apron with pendant thongs; he stood up and tried it on. All were scantily clad, in breech-clouts or short kilts or loin flaps; their naked red bodies, lithe and sinewy, shone, and each had been splashed in two or three places with a blotch or streak of white paint. One spoke English and translated freely; I was careful not to betray too much curiosity or touch on any matter which they might be reluctant to discuss. The snakes behind me never rattled or showed any signs of anger; the translator volunteered the remark that they were peaceable because they had been given medicine—whatever that might mean, supposing the statement to be true according to the sense in which the words are accepted by plainsmen. But several of them were active in the sluggish rattlesnake fashion. One glided sinuously toward me; when he was a yard away, I pointed him out to the watcher with the eagle feathers; the watcher quietly extended the feathers and stroked and pushed the snake's head back, until it finally turned and crawled back to the wall. Half a dozen times different snakes thus crawled out towards us and were turned back, without their ever displaying a symptom of irritation. One snake got past the watcher, whereupon the priest in front of it checked its advance by throwing pinches of dust in its face until the watcher turned round with his feather scepter. Every move was made without hurry and with quiet unconcern; neither snake nor man, at any time, showed a trace of worry or anger; all, human beings and reptiles, were in an atmosphere of quiet peacefulness. When I rose to say good-by, I thanked my hosts for their courtesy; they were pleased, and two or three shook hands with me.

On the afternoon of the following day, August 20, the antelope priests—the men of the Antelope clan—held their dance. The snake priests took part. It was held in the middle of Walpi village, round a big, rugged column of rock, a dozen feet high, which juts out of the smooth surface. The antelope dancers came in first, clad in kilts, with fox skins behind; otherwise naked, painted with white splashes and streaks, and their hair washed with the juice of the yucca root. Their leader's kilt was white; he wore a garland and anklets of cottonwood leaves, and sprinkled water from a sacred vessel to the four corners of heaven. Another leader carried the sacred bow and a bull-roarer, and they moved to its loud moaning sound. The snake priests were similarly clad, but their kirtles were of leather; eagle plumes were in their long hair, and under their knees they carried rattles made of tortoise-shell. In two lines they danced opposite each other, keeping time to the rhythm of their monotonous chanting.

On the top of the column were half a dozen Hopi young men, clad in ordinary white man's clothing. One of my own boys joined

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these, and entered into conversation with them. They spoke English; they had been at non-reservation schools; they were doing well as farmers and citizens. One and all they asserted that, in order to prosper in after life, it was necessary for the Indian to get away to a non-reservation school; that merely to go to an agency school was not enough in any community which was on the highroad of progress; and that they intended to send their own children for a couple of years to an agency school and then to a non-reservation school. They looked at the ceremonial religious dances of their fathers precisely as the whites did; they were in effect Christians, although not connected with any specific church. They represented substantial success in the effort to raise the Indian to the level of the white man. In their case it was not necessary to push them towards forgetfulness of their past. They were traveling away from it naturally, and of their own accord. As their type becomes dominant the snake dance and antelope dance will disappear, the Hopi religious myths will become memories, and the Hopis will live in villages on the mesa tops, or scattered out on the plains, as their several inclinations point, just as if they were so many white men. It is to be hoped that the art, the music, the poetry of their elders will be preserved during the change coming over the younger generation.

On my return from this dance I met two of the best Indian agents in the entire service. The first was Mr. Parquette, a Wisconsin man, himself part Indian by blood. The other was Mr. Shelton, who has done more for the Navajos than any other living man. He has sternly put down the criminal element exactly as he has toiled for and raised the decent Indians and protected them against criminal whites; moreover, he has actually reformed these Indian criminals, so that they are now themselves decent people and his fast friends; while the mass of the Indians recognize him as their leader who has rendered them incalculable services. He has got the Indians themselves to put an absolute stop to gambling, whisky-drinking, and sexual immorality. His annual agricultural fair is one of the features of Navajo life, and is of far-reaching educational value. Yet this exceptionally upright and efficient public servant, who has done such great and lasting good to the Indians, was for years the object of attack by certain Eastern philanthropic associations, simply because he warred against Indian criminals who were no more entitled to sympathy than the members of the Whyo gang in New York City. Messrs. Shelton and Parquette explained to me the cruel wrong that would be done to the Navajos if their reservation was thrown open or cut down. It is desert country. It cannot be utilized in small tracts, for in many parts the water is so scanty that hundreds, and in places even thousands, of acres must go to the support of any family. The Indians need it all; they are steadily improving as agriculturists and stock-growers; few small settlers could come in even if the reservation were thrown open; the movement to open it, and to ruin the Indians, is merely in the interest of a few needy adventurers and of a few wealthy men who wish to increase their already large fortunes, and who have much political influence.

Mr. Robinson, the Superintendent of Irrigation, in protesting against opening the reservation, dwelt upon the vital need of getting from Congress sufficient money to enable the engineers to develop water by digging wells, preserving springs, and making flood reservoirs. The lack of water is the curse of this desert reservation. The welfare of the Indians depends on the further development of the water supply.

That night fires flared from the villages on the top of the mesa. Before there was a hint of dawn we heard the voice of the crier summoning the runners to get ready for the snake dance; and we rose and made our way to the mesa top. The "yellow line," as the Hopis call it, was in the east, and dawn was beautiful, as we stood on the summit and watched the women and children in their ceremonial finery looking from the housetops and cliff edges for the return of the racers. On this occasion they dropped their civilized clothes. The children were painted and naked save for kilts; and they wore feathers and green corn leaves in their hair. The women wore the old style clothing; many of them were in their white bridal dresses, which in this queer tribe are woven by the bridegroom and his male kinsfolk for the bride's trousseau. The returning racers ran at speed up the precipitous paths to the mesa, although it was the close of a six-mile run. Most of them, including the winner, wore only a breechclout and were decked with feathers. I should like to have entered that easy-breathing winner in a Marathon contest! Many of the little boys ran the concluding mile or

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so with them; and the little girls made a pretty spectacle as they received the little boys much as the women and elder girls greeted the men. Then came the corn-scramble, or mock-fight over the corn; and then in each house a feast was set, especially for the children.

At noon, thanks to Mr. Hubbell, and to the fact that I was an ex-President, we were admitted to the sacred kiva—the one-roomed temple-house which I had already visited—while the snake priests performed the ceremony of washing the snakes. Very few white men have ever seen this ceremony. The sight was the most interesting of our entire trip.

There were twenty Indians in the kiva, all stripped to their breech-clouts; only about ten actually took part in handling the snakes, or in any of the ceremonies except the rhythmic chant, in which all joined. Eighty or a hundred snakes, half of them rattlers, the others bull-snakes or ribbon-snakes, lay singly or in tangled groups against the wall at the raised end of the room. They were quiet and in no way nervous or excited. Two men stood at this end of the room. Two more stood at the other end, where the altar was; there was some sand about the altar, and the eagle feathers we had previously seen there had been removed, but the upright thunder-sticks remained. The other Indians were squatted in the middle of the room, and half a dozen of them were in the immediate neighborhood of a very big ornamented wooden bowl of water, placed on certain white painted symbols on the floor. Two of these Indians held sacred rattles, and there was a small bowl of sacred meal beside them. There was some seemingly ceremonial pipe-smoking.

After some minutes of silence, one of the squatting priests, who seemed to be the leader, and who had already puffed smoke toward the bowl, began a low prayer, at the same time holding and manipulating in his fingers a pinch of the sacred meal. The others once again during this prayer uttered in unison a single word or exclamation—a kind of selah or amen. At the end he threw the meal into the bowl of water; he had already put some in at the outset of the prayer. Then he began a rhythmic chant, in which all the others joined, the rattles being shaken and the hands moved in harmony with the rhythm. The chant consisted seemingly of a few words repeated over and over again. It was a strange scene, in the half-light of the ancient temple-room. The copper-red bodies of the priests swayed, and their strongly marked faces, hitherto changeless, gained a certain quiet intensity of emotion. The chanting grew in fervor; yet it remained curiously calm throughout (except for a moment at a time, about which I shall speak later). Then the two men who stood near the snakes stooped over, and each picked up a handful of them, these first handfuls being all rattlesnakes. It was done in tranquil, matter-of-fact fashion, and the snakes behaved with equally tranquil unconcern. All was quiet save for the chanting. The snakes were handed to two of the men squatting round the bowl, who received them as if they had been harmless, holding them by the middle of the body, or at least well away from the head. This was repeated until half a dozen of the squatting priests held each three or four poisonous serpents in his hands. The chanting continued, in strongly accented but monotonous rhythm, while the rattles were shaken and the snakes moved up and down, or shaken, in unison with it. Then suddenly the chant quickened and rose to a scream, and the snakes were all plunged into the great bowl of water, a writhing tangle of snakes and hands. Immediately afterwards they were withdrawn, as suddenly as they had been plunged in, and were hurled to the floor, on and around the altar. They were hurled from a distance of a dozen feet, with sufficient violence to overturn the erect thunder-sticks. That the snakes should have been quiet and inoffensive under the influence of the slow movements and atmosphere of calm that had hitherto obtained was understandable; but the unexpected violence of the bathing, and then of the way in which they were hurled to the floor, together with the sudden screaming intensity of the chant, ought to have upset the nerves of every snake there. However, it did not. The snakes woke to an interest in life, it is true, writhed themselves free of one another and of the upset lightning-sticks, and began to glide rapidly in every direction. But only one showed symptoms of anger, and these were not marked. The two standing Indians at this end of the room herded the snakes with their eagle feathers, gently brushing and stroking them back as they squirmed towards us, or towards the singing, sitting priests.

The process was repeated until all the snakes, venomous and non-venomous alike,

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had been suddenly bathed and then hurled on the floor, filling the other end of the room with a wriggling, somewhat excited serpent population, which was actively, but not in any way nervously, shepherded by the two Indians stationed for that purpose. These men were, like the others, clad only in a breech-clout, but they moved about among the snakes, bare-legged and bare-footed, with no touch of concern. One or two of the rattlers became vicious under the strain, and coiled and struck. I thought I saw one of the two shepherding watchers struck in the hand by a recalcitrant sidewinder which refused to be soothed by the feathers, and which he finally picked up; but, if so, the man gave no sign and his placidity remained unruffled. Most of the snakes showed no anger at all; it seemed to me extraordinary that they were not all of them maddened.

When the snakes had all been washed, the leading priest again prayed. Afterwards he once more scattered meal in the bowl, in lines east, west, north, and south, and twice diagonally. The chant was renewed; it grew slower; the rattlers were rattled more slowly; then the singing stopped and all was over.

At the end of the ceremony I thanked my hosts and asked if there was anything I could do to show my appreciation of the courtesy they had shown me. They asked if I could send them some cowrie shells, which they use as decorations for the dance. I told them I would send them a sackful. They shook hands cordially with all of us, and we left. I have never seen a wilder or, in its way, more impressive spectacle than that of these chanting, swaying, red-skinned medicine-men, their lithe bodies naked, unconcernedly handling the death that glides and strikes while they held their mystic worship in the gray twilight of the kiva. The ritual and the soul-needs it met, and the symbolism and the dark savagery, were all relics of an ages-vanished past, survivals of an elder world.

The snake dance itself took place in the afternoon at five o'clock. There were many hundreds of onlookers, almost as many whites as Indians, and most of the Indian spectators were in white man's dress, in strong contrast to the dancers. The antelope priests entered first and ranged themselves by a tree-like bundle of cottonwood branches against the wall of buildings to one side of the open place where the dance takes place; the other side is the cliff edge. The snakes, in a bag, were stowed by the bundle of cottonwood branches. Young girls stood near the big pillar of stone with sacred meal to scatter at the foot of the pillar after the snakes had been thrown down there and taken away. Then the snake priests entered in their fringed leather kilts and eagle plume head-dresses; fox skins hung at the backs of their girdles, their bodies were splashed and streaked with white, and on each of them the upper part of the face was painted black and the lower part white. Chanting, and stepping in rhythm to the chant, and on one particular stone slab stamping hard as a signal to the underworld, they circled the empty space, and for some minutes danced opposite the line of antelope priests. Then, in couples, one of each couple seizing and carrying in his mouth a snake, they began to circle the space again. The leading couple consisted of one man who had his arm across the shoulder of another, while this second man held in his teeth, by the upper middle of its body, a rattlesnake four feet long, the flat, ace-of-clubs-shaped head and curving neck of the snake being almost against the man's face. Rattlesnakes, bull-snakes, ribbon-snakes, all were carried in the same way. One man carried at the same time two small sidewinder rattlesnakes in his mouth. After a while each snake was thrown on the rock and soon again picked up and held in the hand, while a new snake was held in the mouth. Finally, each man carried a bundle of snakes in his hand, all so held as to leave the head free, so that the snake could strike if it wished. Most of the snakes showed no anger or resentment. But occasionally one, usually a small sidewinder, half coiled or rattled when thrown down; and in picking these up much caution was shown, the Indian stroking the snake with his eagle feathers and trying to soothe it and get it to straighten out; and if it refused to be soothed, he did his best to grasp it just back of the head; and when he had it in his hand, he continued to stroke the body with the feathers, obviously to quiet it. But whether it were angry or not, he always in the end grasped and lifted it—besides keeping it from crawling among the spectators. Several times I saw the snakes strike at the men who were carrying them, and twice I was sure they struck home—once a man's wrist, once his finger. Neither man paid any attention or seemed to suffer in any way. I saw no man struck in the face; but several of my friends had at previous dances seen men struck. In one

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case the man soon showed that he was in much pain, although he continued to dance, and he was badly sick for days; in the other cases no bad result whatever followed.

At last all the snakes were in the hands of the dancers. Then all were thrown at the foot of the natural stone pillar, and immediately, with a yell, the dancers leaped in, seized, each of them, several snakes, and rushed away, east, west, north, and south, dashing over the edge of the cliff and jumping like goats down the precipitous trails. At the foot of the cliff, or on the plain, they dropped the snakes, and then returned to purify themselves by drinking and washing from pails of dark sacred water—medicine water—brought by the women. It was a strange and most interesting ceremony all through.

I do not think any adequate explanation of the immunity of the dancers has been advanced. Perhaps there are several explanations. These desert rattlesnakes are not nearly as poisonous as the huge diamond-backs of Florida and Texas; their poison is rarely fatal. The dancers are sometimes bitten; usually they show no effects, but, as above said, in one instance the bitten man was very sick for several days. It has been said that the fangs are extracted; but even in this case the poison would be loose in the snake's mouth and might get in the skin through the wounds made by the other teeth; and I noticed that when any snake, usually a small sidewinder, showed anger and either rattled or coiled, much caution was shown in handling it, and every effort made to avoid being bitten. It is also asserted that the snakes show the quiet and placid indifference they do because they are drugged, and one priest told me they are given "medicine;" but I have no idea whether this is true. Nor do I know whether the priests themselves take medicine. I believe that one element in the matter is that the snake priests either naturally possess or develop the same calm power over these serpents that certain men have over bees; the latter power, the existence of which is so well known, has never received the attention and study it deserves. An occasional white man has such power with snakes. There was near my ranch on the Little Missouri, twenty-five years ago, a man who had this power. He was a rather shiftless, ignorant man, of a common frontier type, who failed at about everything, and I think he was himself surprised when he found that he could pick up and handle rattlesnakes with impunity. There was no deception about it. I would take him off on horseback, and when I found a rattler he would quietly pick it up by the thick part of the body and put it in a sack. He sometimes made movements with his hands before picking up a coiled rattler; but when he had several in a bag he would simply put his hand in, take hold of a snake anywhere, and draw it out. I can understand the snakes being soothed and quieted by the matter-of-fact calm and fearlessness of the priests for most of the time; but why the rattlers were not all maddened by the treatment they received at the washing in the kiva, and again when thrown on the dance rock, I cannot understand.

That night we motored across the desert with Mr. Hubbell to his house and store at Ganado, sixty miles away, and from Ganado we motored to Gallup, and our holiday was at an end. Mr. Hubbell is an Indian trader. His Ganado house, right out in the bare desert, is very comfortable and very attractive, and he treats all comers with an open-handed hospitality inherited from pioneer days. He has great influence among the Navajos, and his services to them have been of much value. Every ounce of his influence has been successfully exerted to put a stop to gambling and drinking; his business has been so managed as to be an important factor in the material and moral betterment of the Indians with whom he has dealt. And he has been the able champion of their rights wherever these rights have been menaced from any outside source.

Arizona and New Mexico hold a wealth of attraction for the archæologist, the anthropologist, and the lover of what is strange and striking and beautiful in nature. More and more they will attract visitors and students and holiday-makers. That part of northern Arizona which we traversed is of such extraordinary interest that it should be made more accessible by means of a Government-built motor road from Gallup to the Grand Canyon; a road from which branch roads, as good as those of Switzerland, would gradually be built to such points as the Hopi villages and the neighborhood of the Natural Bridge.

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THE PIN-FEATHER AGE

BY CARL WERNER

The second of two articles on the "Boy Next Door," by the author of the book entitled "Bringing Up the Boy."—THE EDITORS.

THE boy next door had not been in to see my boy for many a day. I had heard him decline to pitch in the Saturday baseball game, and he had had an engagement every time I had asked him to come in for an hour's reading in the evening. There was something significant in the way he said "engagement," speaking in that gruff, unsettled voice of his, and I could not help taking alarm.

When I happened to meet him in the street, he glanced at me with a shifting gaze and hastened by. It was not until I noticed that the backs of his shoes were actually blackened carefully and his trousers severely creased on a week-day that I realized that Billy Hunt had reached what we call the pin-feather age. I had been watching for its manifestations in my own son, who is rather too much occupied with his studies and his electrical experiments to become conscious of his transition from boyhood to youth. The moment I saw the blackened heels and the pressed trousers I understood the boy next door, and I was ashamed of my recent discouragement concerning his future.

In the pin-feather age the boy is sometimes a child and sometimes a man, and never entirely the one or the other, in the strange emotional fluctuations which fill him with unrest and discontent. He indulges in hero-worship, and so it was not surprising to find out that Billy read the sporting pages of the daily newspapers and brushed his reddish hair straight up after the mode affected by the light-weight champion Pug Something or Other. I had hoped to see him enthusiastic over Washington or Lincoln, Hamilton or Jefferson, about whom we often talked when the boy next door visited my boy.

But, while the contemplation of the prowess of a pugilist might cause changes in the manner of brushing the hair, it would not account for the sudden neatness and fastidiousness in dress. I guessed that it was a heroine and not a hero who was accountable for Billy's changed demeanor. Scraps of dialogue that came to me from my neighbor's domain explained the situation.

"Come right home from school instead of playing with the girls," admonished Billy's father. "If I don't find all the trees in the back yard whitewashed to-night, there will be trouble. And you'd better not forget to put on your overalls."

The boy next door slung his book-strap over his shoulder and opened the front gate with a defiant fling. Just then his mother's voice at an upstairs window added fuel to the fire of indignation kindled beneath the stripes of his blue shirt-front.

"Billy, what are you wearing your new hat for?" the voice inquired. "It won't be fit to put on Sundays!"

The boy next door paid no attention to his parents' advice. He walked down the street with his head bent. It was a stinging insult to be accused of "playing" with the girls when he had not so much as noticed any of them except One, and he had merely helped Her hunt for her lost kitten one afternoon and carried home Her mother's dress from the dressmaker's another day, and—but it was no use explaining! He was misunderstood.

As I watched him disappear in the direction of school I could recall a personal experience something like it. It was not necessary for Billy to tell me long afterward how all through his geography lesson he had thought of running away and earning his living out West as a cowboy, and how he had wondered whether he might not get a chance to join the "Bessie, the Beautiful Bowery Maid" company, which was coming to town the next week. Adventure and romance beckoned to him then as they had to me many years before, and as they will to every boy who reaches the pin-feather period.

By the time the recess bell rang Billy was in a desperate mood, so he bought a package of cigarettes with the dime intrusted to him for the purchase of penny rolls at the bakery, and sneaked off to smoke all by himself. He sulked through his lessons, I am sure; and my boy told me that after school he would not play scotch, although he hung around the vacant lot where the other boys were having

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a good time. Have not all of us memories of the days when our old games suddenly ceased to give us pleasure, when we discovered that our favorite amusements were silly, childish occupations? Those were dark days, but we lived through them, just as Billy lived through his. Only Billy's dark day had in it events of special import. I found out what happened by piecing together words and facts let drop after the experiences belonged to the variegated past of the boy next door.

While Billy watched the boys play hop-scotch he was really waiting for Chance to lead him. And sure enough Chance appeared in the form of Burt Billings, the brother of Maude. It was for Maude that the boy next door had discarded his old cap and blackened the heels of his boots! Any one might have known that by the way that Billy greeted Burt, a milk-and-water-boy of the type that strong, athletic lads detest. Once Billy had hated Burt, but all was changed when in one of the many divine revelations of adolescence Maude had been discovered as "the sweetest girl in all the world." Burt asked Billy to go to a moving-picture show with him, but Billy had to decline. I can imagine how he pulled the brim of his best hat over his eyes and pretended not to care for moving pictures. He had spent his last cent and embezzled a dime! Joys that cost money were not for him, but of course he did not say so. He made a bluff at having something to do, but there was not anywhere in his chaotic thoughts the least intention to whitewash the trees in his back yard—depend on that! But it developed that Burt had the tickets, and so Billy went with him.

At the door of the playhouse the boys met Maude with her chum, the tomboy Jones girl. Then Billy must have been glad indeed that he was well dressed, even though his attire did not show in the gloom of the darkened hall. An hour or two of unalloyed bliss belonged to the boy next door. He was quite untroubled by fear of what would happen when he went home. He was so accustomed to scoldings and scenes that he had a grim satisfaction in getting what is worth suffering for, and it was human nature to feel something of a hero thus to brave punishment for "the prettiest and sweetest girl in the world."

Late that night I heard Billy Hunt wheeling in the ton of coal dumped among the trees which were *not* whitewashed in the back yard next door, and I knew that he was performing the odious task as a punishment for what must have seemed to his parents nothing short of incorrigibility. Even though I was sure he would continue to avoid me, I determined to win his confidence again. I reproached myself for the harsh judgment which caused me to relax my vigilance over the boy next door at the very period when I am most responsible for his well-being, since I so fully understand that the pin-feather age is the age of glorious possibilities. To us who have lived through it and still retain a dim memory of it there should be only a deep reverence for what it means. We know that it is the time when the child awakens gradually to a perception of his relation to the supreme mysteries of life. Plainly it was incumbent on me to teach Billy that his unrest was due to the overwhelming promises of the soul.

While the wheelbarrow creaked outside in my neighbor's back yard I planned for an Easter vacation which my boy and the boy next door would always remember. They should go with me to my farm, and there, when the sap was rising in the trees and the tender green was pushing through the warm earth, I would try to hold the mirror up to youth, so blind and so bewildered in this world which has the apprehension of such great things to bestow upon us through the senses. The sound of coal falling into my neighbor's cellar lulled me to sleep, and it was not strange that I dreamed that our minister preached a sermon about the innocent being punished with the guilty.

The vacation scheme had to be worked out carefully. The boys must make the journey of two hundred miles without me. Thus they would have the joy of being young explorers; they could go forth with "the world is mine" spirit. They were delighted when I told them that, instead of accompanying them, I would follow them in a few days, although they both tried to act as if journeys were every-day experiences. It is part of the pin-feather pose to pretend to be blasé and wise and brave. It is a time when every trace of feminine emotionalism must be concealed, although it may still exist. Tears flow no more—not even when a fellow is badly hurt!

I liked the way in which the boys prepared for their outing. They held many secret conferences about what they should put in their luggage, and I did not remonstrate even when they packed many articles

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which seemed to me superfluous. It was to be expected that they would want firearms and fishing tackle and wading-boots and sneakers and blankets and leggings, but the mysterious traps they smuggled in between blankets and the hunting-knives and game-bags which seemed necessary to them were altogether excess baggage. Still I made no objections and restrained my boy's mother from an inclination to repack. And when the maternal instinct led to the bestowal of a very large box of candy, I was cruel enough to make believe it would have no place in the kit of a real hunter or an embryo agriculturist. But the candy was accepted with a shamefaced gratitude, and it was put on top, where it would be accessible to the travelers.

It was nothing for two boys of fifteen to travel without an older person, but it was something for them to be permitted to go to the railway station alone. Nothing so humiliates a lad in the pin-feather age as to be publicly kissed, and it was part of the holiday programme that no one should say good-by on the railway platform. I explained to my boy's mother that it was hardly fair to young adventurers, who might wish to impress the trainmen with their manliness, to start them off with the inevitable parental warnings about not putting their heads out of car windows and taking care not to lose their money. And then suppose Maude should be on the platform and should see Billy Hunt's mother peck his cheek or hear her give him advice about changing his winter underwear!

My plans worked out admirably. The boys left me with the air of seasoned globe-trotters. I had been wary of preaching to the boy next door, but I had hoped that he would feel it incumbent on him to do the delayed job of whitewashing before he went away. Days passed, and still the back-yard trees were as nature made them. Billy evidently thought that the coal incident had bought his absolution for whitewashing omissions, but on the afternoon before the journey I noticed that he was preoccupied when I suggested that he should attend a matinée with my boy. He declined, and later he was actually working as if he belonged to the whitewashers' union. After all, he had apparently profited by precept and example. I was pleased with the thought that my neighborly interest had had such good effect, and the next morning in the bustle of departure I watched my chance to congratulate Billy on his work.

"You will enjoy your vacation much more if you go away knowing that you have not left undone anything you should have done," I said. "I have been hoping you would not forget the trees."

"Forget the trees—huh!" answered the boy next door. "Pa wouldn't let me, but I wouldn't have done 'em if he hadn't given me a dollar for the job. And I sold all the lime that was left for a quarter and rented the whitewash brush while I'm away for fifteen cents."

I looked Billy in the face, but he appeared quite as unconscious of sharp practice as any older financier would be after a satisfactory deal. He jingled the money in his pocket.

"Do I understand that you have made your father pay for what he once asked you to do as your part of the household tasks?" I inquired. "Is it possible for you to accept money for what you should give when you really owed the family the actual service you have so long delayed?"

The boy next door thought for a moment.

"I'll give back the dollar. Pa can have it," he said, grudgingly, and he vaulted the fence. He was in his own house for five minutes, and when he returned he busied himself in strapping the roll of blankets which the expressman was to take. Afterward I learned that when Billy returned the dollar he stipulated that it should draw interest at the rate of ten cents a week. I have not the least doubt that if I live to be an old man I shall recall this incident as one of many which prophesies the brilliant business career of William Hunt, millionaire.

As it happened, I did not intrude on the boys for a week. When I arrived at the farm, they had quite the air of proprietors glad to welcome a chance guest. They conducted me on expeditions over the hills and taught me many long-forgotten lessons in woodcraft. Incidentally, they recounted many thrilling adventures in which something dreadful *almost* happened. I heard how my boy slid down a rock and *almost* fell on the back of a hedgehog, and how Billy Hunt valiantly confronted a snake which *almost* bit him. I heard every *almost* accident with a responsive shudder. I accepted each narrative with the degree of admiration or horror expected of me. If I detected any conscious exaggeration, I ignored it and made allowance for the imaginative mind of youth. Boys must be braggarts now and then in

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order that they may have a foretaste of the joy of real victories of manhood.

After I had proved myself worthy to be a comrade, after I had identified myself with the point of view of youth, I led my two hosts up to my vantage-ground of middle life. After I had been a boy with the boys, I encouraged them to be men with a man. Then we talked intimately of the things men must meet in the busy world. We spoke of the temptations, the struggles, and the victories that we know belong to the stronger sex. We discussed honor in all its phases—honor in finance, honor in the family relations, and honor in love. We dwelt on the fact that money may be used to measure a man; we were emphatic about the necessity of being exact in the smallest business matters, including those that concern the home. We agreed that it was puerile to be less honest in dealing with parents or brothers than with strangers. Billy, who betrayed self-consciousness while we spoke of love, was quite as uncompromising in his ethical standards—when we talked—as my boy or I could be. So far as I could see, he felt no twinge of conscience, but when he wrote a postal card to his mother he added a postscript to his father. An up-hill scribbled line said: "P. S. Dear Pa: Ten cents a week on a dollar is usury. I'm willing to make it 20 cents a month."

On the last night of our vacation we sat before a wood fire and talked of life as the Great Opportunity. Looking into the flames, we saw visions of years in which it was possible to accomplish something which would justify our existences. My boy smiled in the calm, contented way which assures me that he has lofty dreams little related to maternal conflicts, but the boy next door set his chin and clenched his fists as if he were preparing for a hand-to-hand encounter with the world.

Sitting there with a boy on either side of me, I thought of how the drum-beats in the veins of youth were calling them to action, and I hoped that the summons might be answered with a service in which the glory of love and of labor might be realized.

THE ATTACK UPON THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH IN SOUTH AMERICA

BY GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

Professor Blakeslee, the author of this article, is at the head of the Department of History in Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts. He believes that history is life; not a mere record of dates, events, and names. It has been his custom for some years, when possible, to spend his long summer vacations in traveling in various parts of the world, observing and studying the current of social and political forces which are in the process of making and which will be called history in the future. He has visited Russia, China, the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, in this historical laboratory work, and has spent the past summer in South America in the same kind of study. Interesting and informing articles by Mr. Blakeslee on the conditions of Poland, the political influence of women in Finland, the relations of Japan to Korea, and the popular government in the Philippine Islands have already been published in The Outlook.— THE EDITORS.

DURING the early days of June the students in Santiago and Valparaiso, Chile's foremost cities, went on strike as a protest against the Papal Nuncio. For a large part of a week they refused to attend school classes or university lectures, in the hope that their spectacular action would induce the Government to send the Pope's representative out of the country.

At the same time a vast crowd of citizens, as many as fifty thousand, it was estimated, met together in the capital and petitioned the President of Chile for the Nuncio's expulsion. Parades of protest and mock processions were to be seen in the principal streets nearly every afternoon or evening. Not satisfied with attacking the Nuncio, they sometimes extended their hostility and their mockery to the Church itself. One procession carried two large figures derisively representing a

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monk and a nun together; another impersonated priests with swinging censers. A crowd of students robed themselves as penitents and bore lighted tapers in their hands; and devout old women, not recognizing the snickering young men, knelt to them in the street as they walked slowly past. It was common for these processions to carry large banners with mottoes and inscriptions not merely attacking the Papal representative, but deriding the established Church as well.

These demonstrations were not limited to a few extremists, but were engaged in by many thousands of people. The Nuncio and the Church were the most exciting topics of popular conversation during the early summer, and were the subjects of lively discussion in the Chilean Congress. June 6 was one of the days when the Nuncio's conduct was on the calendar for debate in the Chamber of Deputies. The spacious galleries were crowded; not only was every seat taken, but every foot of standing room was occupied, so that either entrance or exit was difficult. Those present were nearly all young men, evidently students. During the speeches of the Conservatives in defense of the Nuncio they paid close attention, yet gave vent to their feelings by low hisses every now and then; but when a Radical made a fiery, eloquent attack upon him, they suddenly broke out in loud applause, which was stopped only by vigorous orders of the Speaker.

The extent and the strength of this opposition to both the Nuncio and the Church may seem surprising in a thoroughly Catholic country, where the clergy are well known to be more generally respected than in any other state in South America, and where the Church itself is considered to have a relatively strong hold upon the people; yet it is typical of the situation which exists to-day in all South America. The educated classes, as a rule are indifferent to religion, and a considerable proportion of them are ready to make a vigorous assault upon the Church whenever, as an organization, it seems to interfere with the affairs of the State.

The causes of this anti-clerical outbreak well illustrate general South American conditions. It was the fear that the Nuncio was sending too much money out of the country that precipitated the trouble. It is popularly believed in Chile that he has obtained immense sums by either selling or mortgaging monastery property, and has sent them to Rome in view of the possible early separation of State and Church. It is this financial loss to the nation that the Radicals intend to prevent. They state that within the last five years alone the Church officials in Chile have sent to the Pope over $1,300,000. This particular complaint has led to a general criticism of the wealth of the established Church. Its property in Santiago alone is valued at over $100,000,000, and it is now stated in the heat of the present struggle that its total income is even greater than that of the Government itself.

It is claimed, further, that the Nuncio has interfered in State politics. The first charge relates to Tacna and Arica, two provinces formerly a part of Peru, but which at the close of the war of 1879–83 were placed under the temporary control of Chile, until their permanent disposition should be settled by a popular vote. During this Chilean occupancy, which still continues, each Government demanded that priests of its own nation should officiate in the territory. The dispute was referred to Rome, which was influenced by the Nuncio, it is stated, to give a decision favorable to Peru. A more recent complaint is that this representative of the Vatican has sent to the Pope for definite confirmation appointments of clergy in Chile which by both law and long-established custom it is the right of the Government to make, and not that of the local Church.

The fight against the Nuncio has been extended to the Chilean clergy as a whole, and has intensified the latent hostility towards them felt at all times by a large proportion of the educated men. Many of the priests, it is said, are Spaniards and Portuguese who have been driven out of their own countries, and who live in luxury, idleness, and, very many of them, in dissipation.

That the student class is leading this attack illustrates the fact that it is the college and the university in South America in which religious indifference is particularly marked and hostility to the Church especially strong. The students, too, have been directed, to some extent, by political leaders who deemed it expedient to remain in the background and not openly antagonize the clergy. The students also are unmarried, and so do not fear the disapproval of their wives, who would be under the influence of the priests.

Opposition to the established Church when it interferes with the civil and financial functions of the nation—and which easily extends to the Church in its religious aspect—is

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characteristic of other South American countries besides Chile.

The most striking legislation perhaps is that enacted within the past few months in Bolivia, a country generally considered especially conservative and clerical. A law so radical that it would be deemed oppressive in the United States provides that only civil marriages are legal, and that if a religious service is desired, this must be celebrated after the civil marriage has first been performed. It is stated that priests have already been arrested for violation of these regulations. The cemeteries have been taken out of the hands of the clergy and placed under State control; priests have been subjected to the jurisdiction of the ordinary secular courts; and, most advanced of all, the famous Corpus Christi procession, which plays so prominent a part in the religious life of Latin America, has been forbidden by law in La Paz, the capital of Bolivia.

Ecuador, so long religiously intolerant, has made all ecclesiastics ineligible for Congress, has secularized all cemeteries, and established complete religious freedom. In Uruguay, where the adoption of a new constitution is the great political issue of the day, it is agreed by both the political parties that a section shall be inserted in it providing for the disestablishment of the Church.

These examples, which might be much extended, show not merely the century-long effort to draw the line justly and properly between the sphere of the State and that of the Church—a struggle often carried on in a nation fundamentally religious—but they reveal a society in South America in which the leading men are almost entirely indifferent to religion.

It has been estimated that in Buenos Aires, with its million and a quarter of inhabitants, there are not, on an average, more than two hundred men altogether in the city churches on a Sunday morning. So rare is a devout churchman among the educated classes that it is sometimes said of such a one, "He is a Catholic." This does not signify what it would in our own country, for in South America practically all are regarded as nominal adherents of the established Catholic Church, and are so registered in the census.

The character of the priesthood is not such as to attract or inspire. Notwithstanding many individuals of consecrated lives, it is yet true that the clergy as a whole are neither devoted nor spiritually-minded, while a large proportion of them are immoral. The general condition of the Church is in sad contrast with that in the United States.

A true religious reform is greatly needed. Some of the keenest critics believe that the lack of a strong moral sense is the most serious defect of South American life. It shows itself not only in religion, but in the attitude of the people towards their work and their social obligations, as well as in the sphere of politics and in the relation of men to women. A spiritualized Church should surely do something to bring to these nations a stronger sense of duty and right.

If religion can accomplish this, it can be effected only through a revival in the Catholic Church, for neither world history nor present South American conditions give any promise of a general turning of these southern Latin peoples to Protestantism.

But how can this reform be brought about except by the painfully slow improvement in the local Church itself, which is already noticeable? Many believe that a complete separation from the State would strengthen the Church, by forcing its friends to rally earnestly to its support, a view which is openly held by a number of prominent Catholics. They may well point to Brazil, the only South American country in which the Church is completely independent. Here it was disestablished in 1890, since which time there has been a marked improvement in the character of its clergy.

Protestant missionaries insist that the only hope is in the extension of their faith; and there are liberal Catholics who, in part, agree with them, believing that if Protestantism should become sufficiently strong to bring about active religious competition, this would greatly stimulate and improve the established Catholic Church. There is no real competition at present, however, for out of a total South American population of 50,000,000 there are only about 200,000 Protestants of all denominations.

However this question is to be settled, it remains to-day the greatest problem of South America. Until it is solved every Southern republic is liable to see, from time to time, such scenes as those enacted in Chile—crowds of its best-educated and most cultured young men marching night after night through the streets of its capital deriding, mocking, and insulting the Church to which the nation belongs.

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THE READER'S VIEW

A PRACTICAL MAN ON FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE

The article by Mr. Jones on "Filipino Politicians and Independence," in The Outlook for September 20, has been read with great interest, partly because the many instances of political chicanery told therein have caused reminiscences of my happy "exile," and partly because of the futility of it—not the futility of the article, but the futility of any discussion on independence for the Filipino.

If the worthy gentlemen who waste so much time and paper discussing independence would devote a year's time to the study of the matter—not as official visitors received with brass bands and banquets, but as unofficial workers among the rank and file of the Filipino people—they would soon discover that there is no independence question. For there is no desire for independence among the common, garden variety of Filipino! It is true that among the so-called "better class" there is a demand for independence. But the "better class" is the class portrayed by Mr. Jones. And the "better class" does not care for political freedom from any motives of patriotism, but because of what there is "in it," as "bosses" of a long down-trodden, ignorant people who for centuries have been accustomed to being robbed by corrupt officials, both of State and Church.

The writer has talked independence with all sorts of Filipinos, ranging from a man of enough importance to have been an *insurrecto* general and twice governor of an important province, down to the commonest *tao* who thought "independence" was something the Americans "kept in a box in Manila." And, with very few exceptions, they were Americanistas, and, strangely enough, the exceptions were usually young boys who were attending school. One man, who had been a lieutenant in the *insurrecto* army, put it very clearly when he said: "In Spanish days we got twenty centavos a day and had to give most of that to the *padre* and the *cacique*. Now we get fifty centavos a day and keep it all. If the Americans go away, Pablo will get it all." Pablo in this case was the local "boss." The ex-general and governor, a particularly fine type of Filipino, often remarked that the Filipino would not be fit for self-government until the older generation had passed away and the new generation, imbued with the American spirit, had become the old generation. "*Mas que cincuenta años*"—more than fifty years, as he placed it.

Most of the investigators of, and writers on, the Filipino questions apparently get their information by proxy, and then get only such information as it is thought desirable for them to have. They have no opportunity for studying the undercurrents of Filipino affairs. It is next to impossible for a high official to learn anything which it is desired to conceal. For instance, did the Congressional junketing party know that in one town which they visited all the poor people—the *pobres*—had been herded out of town so that a good impression would be made? Did they know that mountain girls could have been purchased in the public market like so many hogs? The Commissioner of the Interior has just found it out after a decade, yet any number of men in subordinate positions could have told him years ago, and probably have been discharged for daring to impute such a thing to the "little brown brother." He might also have been told of an occasional case of cannibalism.

And yet, after a few weeks or months at the clubs and hotels, at banquets and receptions, absorbing a modicum of superficial information, these men pose as experts on matters Philippine, and with much verbosity and sesquipedalianism prove—to their own satisfaction—that the Filipino is, or is not, capable of self-government. And, in the last analysis, Mr. Jones's whole article amounts to about as much as a discussion on the relative merits of boots and shoes for a legless man. *For the rank and file of the Filipino people do not want independence.*

Let the public have an article by a man who has lived among the Filipinos, has worked with the Filipinos, has studied the Filipinos directly instead of vicariously. The public has been satiated with the investigator and political type of article.

R. C. HARDMAN.
Formerly Provincial Supervisor of Bulacan Province and District Engineer, Bureau of Public Works.
Colorado Springs, Colorado.

CASTING OFF THE NATIONAL YOKE IN NEW YORK

"Who appointed you fellows, anyway? What right have you got to nominate anybody? That's what I'd like to know," thundered an elderly and ordinarily good-natured, but for the time being much ruffled, Republican. It was the morning after the selection of John Purroy Mitchel as the Fusion candidate for Mayor by the Citizens' Municipal Committee, popularly known as the Committee of 107.

I was somewhat flustered by the onslaught, and it took me some moments to remember what, if any, rights our Committee had.

"Self-constituted," yes.

"Undemocratic," yes.

"Necessary," yes. Our only justification.

There had to be a strong central force to bring into line the diverse, and far from harmo-

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nious, elements that make up the legions opposed to the Tiger.

The Committee of 107 searched earnestly for the ablest, best qualified, and strongest. The utmost care was given to the selection of fit men for the Judiciary and the Board of Estimate. The county offices have been handed out to pacify, so far as was possible, the howling, the dissatisfied, and the rampant, but even here district leaders and hack politicians have been for the most part tabooed. Party leaders were warned that their candidates must "measure up."

The candidates selected by the Committee make the strongest fusion ticket ever put in nomination in the city of New York.

That National politics shall be divorced from city affairs is the aim of all who have the welfare of our cities at heart. For twenty years Mayor Gaynor urged this thing. It is of no importance whether the Mayor or the Sheriff or the Coroner is a Republican or a Democrat or a Progressive. It is vital that in casting our ballot we consider economy, schools, health, playgrounds, docks, transit, and the qualifications of the candidates.

Few American cities have succeeded in freeing local politics from the National yoke. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has come nearest. Since 1867, with a lapse of but few years, a Citizens' Committee has made up the local ticket without reference to National politics. Like the Committee of 107, the Cambridge Committee has been self-constituted—a "butter-in." Yet Cambridge is said by many to have the best government of any city in the United States.

At the last session of the New York Legislature the direct primary was the main issue. Before a genuine direct primary can be adopted it will be a dead issue so far as municipal elections are concerned. The forces that created the Fusion Committee have, in local matters, sounded the death knell of the direct primary. The primary deals only with the selection of candidates within a party.

Municipal affairs are getting out from under the party yoke. On local issues there is to be an increasing difference of opinion within the party ranks. The fact to be determined is no longer which man do the enrolled members of the Republican party, or of the Progressive party, want to head the ballot, but whom do the voters of the city, irrespective of National party affiliation, choose to carry the standard? With our present election machinery a fusion of forces for good government without some voluntary committee to guide and steer would be close to impossible.

The most likely substitute for the self-constituted committee is the non-partisan primary or the preferential vote.

The first is working in Los Angeles, Grand Rapids, and several small cities governed by commission. The second is now in operation in Cleveland, under the new charter, adopted July 1.

The charter of Los Angeles provides that not less than three and not more than five weeks before a general election a non-partisan primary shall be held. It is called officially a primary nominating election. Any man who can get a petition signed by not less than one hundred voters is entitled to have his name on the ballot. No party designations or emblems are allowed. The names are arranged in alphabetical order. The two who receive the highest number of votes are the only candidates at the general election.

In Cleveland there is no primary at all. The Gordian knot is cut, and primary and election are boiled down into one. No parties are recognized and no emblems are allowed. Candidates can get on the ballot only by petition signed by at least 2,500 voters for any office to be voted for over the entire city, and a lesser number for the wards. All petitions must be filed at least forty days before election. Voters are requested to express their first, second, and third choice for each office. The candidate who receives the majority of first-choice votes is declared elected. If no candidate has a majority, then the first and second choice votes are added. If no one has a majority of first and second choice votes, all of the first, second, and third choice votes are added together, and the candidate who has the largest number is elected, even though he has not a majority of the total vote.

The strong point in a voluntary citizens' nominating committee is that it goes out of existence when its work is done. It leaves its candidates free to work out the job along the lines of the platform promises. It does not perpetuate itself as a job-hunting, vote-controlling, machine-building body. Its fatal weakness is its lack of democratic origin. A self-created body can never give satisfaction in a democracy. Its justification is: the supreme need of the hour and the failure of our election machinery to provide for non-partisan city government.

Before another four years have rolled away some provision should be made for government by the people as distinguished from government by party in this great city, the most intricate and most important business concern on the face of the earth.

LOUIS HEATON PINK.
Brooklyn, New York.

THE SUFFERING IN BULGARIA

A few months ago the victorious Bulgarian nation won the sympathy and applause of all Europe and America; now it is left all alone to struggle for its very life.

Bulgaria is deeply grateful to the Christian people of the United States of America for the interest and help they have given her in the

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past. You have indeed proved to be our best friends, because your help and sympathy have been prompted by unselfish Christian love, free from any political interests. It is in recognition of this fact that we beg the people of America to retain their sympathy for Bulgaria, not believing the many false reports against her in the papers, until they can know her side and the result of official international investigation.

Being myself a Bulgarian, a member of the Red Cross and of the "Christian Herald" Relief Committee at Sofia, I have been engaged in the relief work from the very beginning of the war. The sufferings I have witnessed in the hospitals, the sorrow and misery in the homes, the heartrending stories I have heard from hundreds of women—all these have compelled me to come to your country to plead the cause of my suffering people.

Over thirty thousand of our strong men, the breadwinners of so many homes, the mothers' only hope, Bulgaria's diligent agriculturists, tradesmen, merchants, teachers, lawyers, future statesmen—these, the first-fruits of liberated Bulgaria—have laid down their lives on the battlefield, a sacrifice for the liberation of their Macedonian brothers. About twenty thousand are crippled for life, becoming a burden and care to their homes and country, for which they too were ready to die. But, in addition to these, we have at present in Bulgaria over one hundred thousand Macedonian refugees, who have fled from their homes on account of the oppressions by the new conquerors, the Servians and the Greeks. They are in need of shelter, daily food, clothing, and of fuel during the cold winter. They are crowded in some of the larger buildings, lying on the bare floor; suffering, homesick, yet not daring to go back to their homes.

Our Government has done all possible to meet the needs of these sufferers. The relief also sent by Christian people all over the world has been very carefully distributed for the same purpose, and yet there is an appalling daily need that stares us in the face.

These thousands of people are living people, their needs are daily needs. Besides all these, for eleven months we have had to care for nearly ninety thousand Turkish prisoners.

On the other hand, last year's harvest, vintage, and fruits were greatly damaged by the marching of the different armies through the country, and also by the lack of workingmen and means of transportation at the needed time. Thus in many ways our resources have been exhausted, while our needs have been greatly increased. One of Bulgaria's greatest hopes for her future welfare, and indeed the most valuable capital left her, lies in her children. But, alas! look at their present condition! Thousands of them are left orphans, or so poor that they are doomed to hunger, neglect, ignorance. Unless we find the means to shelter them in orphanages, and thus come to their physical, intellectual, and moral rescue *now*, we are to witness in the future one of our greatest losses.

Our noble Queen Eleanor, who has been in every way a true mother to our suffering people, has expressed her deep anxiety as to the future of the orphans. We hope that you too, Christian people of America, may see the vision of "the suffering little ones," and, seeing it, you may lend them a helping hand. Any help for the relief or orphan work may be sent directly to Her Majesty Queen Eleanor, or to the "Christian Herald," Bible House, New York.

I hope to be here for two months, and if any churches or ladies' societies are interested in the cause of Bulgaria, I will be glad to give an address on her present conditions. My address is care of the "Christian Herald," New York.

(Mrs.) ZORITSA D. FURNAJIEFF.

LEND A HAND BOOK MISSION

The Lend a Hand Book Mission ministers to the needs of the mountain and country people of the South, most of whom live miles distant from a railway or any enterprising community.

For generations they have struggled with poverty and hardship, held down by the rigid, unchanging conditions of their environment. The dull routine of their lives rests heavily upon them and they are without any inspiring activities. I have found them honest and warm-hearted and glad and eager for our help.

To such people our Mission sends books, free of cost, to form school libraries and to form small public libraries. These books go forth with their inspiring power among the people of near and distant neighborhoods, reaching thousands of children and adults.

At the North we are rich in books and libraries, while in the isolated sections of the South of which I speak there are almost no books or magazines. Can we not share our abundance with the less fortunate?

If the readers of The Outlook have dictionaries, encyclopædias, biographies, and standard works of fiction which they have laid aside and are now willing to give to schools and libraries in the lonely regions of the South, to prisoners, to mill operatives, and to men who work in mines, I will gladly give addresses to which the reading matter may be sent, and such information as may be desired.

Persons offering reading supplies are asked to send by freight, prepaying the cost, for in these localities the people are too poor to meet the expense.

ANNA E. WOOD.

Lend a Hand Book Mission,
101 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

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MANY INVENTIONS

MOVING PICTURES IN THE AIR

What has been called the outdoor moving picture is not made by the lens of the camera, but by the magic of electricity and the genius of the electrician. In scores of cities and towns outdoor audiences in streets and squares gaze upward at the free moving pictures high in the air. In one may be seen the moon gradually rising over a seaside resort. The waves glint with radiance as the moon shines upon them. In the cottages and hotels, the steamboats and yachts at anchor, dazzling lights appear. Again, this aerial picture may be a scene at sunrise; the sky gradually changes from dark to purple, and finally the sun slowly rises above the horizon.

One of the most remarkable of the moving pictures in the air is a Roman chariot race. It is on the top of a tall building in one of the larger cities, and the picture is so mammoth in size that the figures can be seen a half-mile distant. Two illustrations relating to this may be found in the picture section in this issue. When exhibited, the charioteers seem to be urging their horses to the utmost speed, leaning forward as they tightly grasp the reins. The idea is taken from a painting by a Roman artist; the completed motion picture shows the figures of the drivers and horses, also the shape of the chariot, outlined by thousands of electric bulbs.

If the top of a building is not high enough to let the crowd of visitors see this aerial show, it may be erected on a steel framework, but the scene must be made in parts. First is the movable track, which gives the horses the appearance of running along a race-course. Really the chariot horses and drivers are standing still, but a revolving platform makes the onlooker think they are racing.

The effect of movement is caused by the rapid lighting and darkening of the electric lamps. When the "race" is to be started, the operator sets in motion an electric motor. This causes the movable race-track to revolve. Another operator stands at an electric switchboard in which are set push-buttons connecting with wires that reach the buttons, causing the lamps to be light or dark, and so rapidly are the buttons worked by the dexterous fingers of the man that this causes people to believe there is really a chariot race. The drivers are armored as were the Roman charioteers. They are made, or rather built, of sheet steel and their parts deftly shaped into form, then riveted together where they are to be used as pictures. The chariot is also of this metal, which is hammered and twisted in the proper form. The gigantic horses are the most difficult to fashion, but in practice the illusion of these electrically driven steeds is remarkable.

For ornamenting the so-called "curtain" that forms the "background" of the race-course, enormous tassels are shaped by electric bulbs set in a wire framework. The "Chariot Race" is the largest moving picture in the air ever made, and required nearly a year to make. It is, so to speak, sculptured out of metal and ornamented with electric lights to resemble the chariot and lifelike horses and drivers.

CEMENT AND CONCRETE

Many people are hazy in their ideas of the words cement and concrete. The following explanation from "World's Work" is primary, but clear and informative:

"In the first place, Portland cement is a manufactured product obtained from lime rock and clay, or similar aluminous raw materials. Its preparation involves drying, burning, and grinding in order that, when finished, it shall be in the form of a light-gray powder or flour. This powder is of such exceeding fineness that the grains thereof may be made to pass through a sieve containing forty thousand holes to the square inch of surface.

"Modeled into any desirable form, cement shows a high crushing resistance, together with a high tensile strength. It will sustain almost any load without injury to itself, showing no cracks or other elements of decay that attack other materials.

"'Concrete' implies the use of cement in conjunction with sand and crushed rock, and in such proportions as will develop the highest value of the cement for practical purposes, at the same time bringing it within the range of buyers who do not wish to employ Portland cement.

"'Reinforced concrete' means the use of concrete in conjunction with steel so placed as to contribute the tensional value of the steel to the total mass. Columns thus constructed will sustain almost any concentrated burden and are being extensively used in engineering."

A SMOKE NUISANCE EXHIBIT

The Smoke Abatement League of Pittsburgh is working hard at a difficult reform. It has just been making a graphic exhibit which is picturesquely described in the "Survey:"

"The exhibit occupies a prominent place in the main hall of the exposition buildings The frieze of the stand is painted to represent the sky-line of Pittsburgh. Across the sky-line are such phrases as 'Smoke means anything but prosperity;' 'How about the high cost of smoke?'; 'Smoke is a sign of waste and inefficiency;' and 'Black smoke is industry's badge of shame.'

"Outside the stand are two models of the Washington Monument. The one is a minia-

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ture of the actual monument, and the other, considerably higher, represents the volume of the piled-up soot-fall of Pittsburgh for 1912.

"A large map on one of the walls of the stand shows how it was possible to compute the total soot-fall of the city. The map, which is the result of a year's study by the smoke investigation of the Mellon Institute, shows that the soot-fall varies from 595 tons per square mile per year on Mount Washington to 1,950 tons in the Woods Run district. The soot-fall over the entire city in 1912 amounted to 42,683 tons.

"In the center of the stand is a huge lump of coal weighing almost two tons. A sign on this lump explains that it represents the total coal consumption of the Pittsburgh district, about 16,000,000 tons, 21.7 per cent of which, valued at approximately $4,340,000, is wasted in smoke.

"A number of graphic charts on the walls of the stand call attention to the effects of smoke on health, vegetation, weather, building materials, and the cost of living. A large chart which has to do with the cost of the smoke nuisance pictures the itemized annual bill which 'Messrs. Smoke and Soot, Unlimited,' render to 'Mr. People of Pittsburgh.' The bill shows that the smoke nuisance costs the people of Pittsburgh about $20 per capita, or $10,000,000."

DANGER IN GOLF

Among the "many inventions" which have their dangers and drawbacks is that of one form of golf ball. From several directions come reports of accidents which ought not to be possible. Thus a report of the American Medical Association says: "Within the last two or three years quite a number of serious accidents have occurred from the opening of golf balls to ascertain their contents. Most balls contain no fluid, but there are balls wherein are to be found acids, held there under high pressure, so that when opened by a knife, hatchet, or what not, the acid squirts out. Not infrequently the eyes and face have been severely burned. The acid is supposed to give the ball greater resiliency and carrying power, but its use is dangerous. Do not cut open golf balls to see what they are made of, or for any other reason." This same report also warns against the carelessness of golf-players who swing clubs recklessly, against danger to eyes from flying sand or gravel, and questions whether the familiar cry of "Fore" is not a danger because of the natural tendency to turn and look toward the point from which the call comes. The lesson as to "Fore" is obviously that which Lot's wife did not heed.

MACHINERY BY PARCEL POST

When the parcel post was first introduced, some one, as a joke, says the "American Machinist," shipped a wagon-load of brick to his friends in various parts of the country, each brick going as a separate shipment. While the wag who conceived the idea of making the postman shrivel under the unaccustomed load thought he had devised something unique, those in charge of a brick exposition in Chicago went him one better by having enough bricks shipped in from all parts of the country by parcel post to enable an entire house to be constructed of them. So, adds the "Machinist," the transition to equally massive machinery parts was not a radical change.

It is in this connection, the supplying of parts for machinery, that the parcel post has made itself useful to members of the trade. "So useful has the system become, in fact, that many machinery houses already regard it as well-nigh indispensable. It is certain that it has unique advantages which could not be duplicated in any other way, and that those who are using it are inclined to increase rather than lessen their application of the idea."

AN ANTI-PANIC REVOLVING DOOR

An automatic revolving door, collapsible in case of panic, so as to permit free egress, was exhibited at the Grand Central Palace, New York City, where the convention and exhibition of the International Association of Fire Engineers was held. The door, as described by the "Engineering News," is revolved by an electric motor, and ordinary pressure on the brace arm or push plate starts the motor and turns the door. Discontinuing the pressure breaks the circuit, bringing the motor to a stop. Should the vestibule become overcrowded from any cause, so that the pressure upon the door increases beyond the ordinary limit, the doors and the wings forming their approach automatically collapse, thus permitting free exit passage. Although the doors are easily collapsed, the ordinary pressure used in their regular operation does not affect the proper working of the mechanism. This mode of operation, involving merely pressure on the push plate, is of recent development.

THE PRICE OF RADIUM

A cable despatch from Berlin declares that, as a result of the unprecedented demand for radium and mesothorium, the price of the former has gone up $10,000 a gram. It is now quoted at $115,000 a gram. Cautions, it is stated, have been sent out to institutions and laboratories which are endeavoring to get even the smallest portion of the radium, warning them against spurious radium which is appearing on the market. The craze for radium and the enormous prices offered are said to be giving strong impetus to the incentive to swindling, and several cases are reported. The New York "Sun" reckons that the price named would make a pound of radium cost over fifty million dollars—if there was a pound in existence.

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BY THE WAY

A new law in New York provides for one day of rest every week for many classes of workers whose toil has heretofore been unremitting. Drug clerks, cigar-store employees, barbers, waiters, and others benefit by the new statute. Janitors, superintendents, foremen, and watchmen still have the "privilege" of laboring seven days a week.

Paying his respects to Bernard Shaw, Mr. G. K. Chesterton says in the "Illustrated London News:" "It would be hard to find any man of genius, I think, whose particular talent has suffered less from time. The intellectual hilarity he had at the beginning he has still. The intellectual prejudices he has in his later years he had in his very earliest years. On those points about which he may die a persecutor, he was certainly born a persecutor. On those points about which he came into our world laughing, he will almost certainly go out of it laughing."

The radical wing of the Social-Democratic party of Germany was defeated, at the party's recent convention in Jena, in an attempt to pass a vote of censure on the Socialist members of the Reichstag who voted for an increased armament.

The Public Service Commission of New York City has issued an order prohibiting smoking on the rear platforms of street cars. As under the old system the odor of tobacco drifted from the platform into the car whenever the door was opened, lovers of pure air have reason to be thankful to the Commission.

John Burroughs is active enough, at the age of threescore and ten, to try to run down a woodchuck, as he amusingly tells us in the current "Century Magazine." "The woodchuck made for its hole, a hundred and fifty feet away. But I got there first. The 'chuck paused twenty feet to one side and regarded me intently, defiantly. . . . I sprang for a stone and the 'chuck sprang for his hole, and was in it as my hand touched the stone. He had won!" But that fifty-yard dash would have been good to see.

"Antony and Cleopatra" has been produced in elaborate style in moving pictures, and the rights for the use of the films in the British Isles for three years were lately sold for the record price of $42,500.

A cat story told in a book "In Defense of the Cat" is as follows: The author found in his stable one of the plainest and hungriest cats he had ever seen; she was kindly cared for, but kept in the stable. Some time after "the most beautiful red and white long-haired kitten we had ever seen" was found on the front door step. This kitten was at once adopted by the family. In a day or two the mother, no other than the despised stable cat, appeared with another equally beautiful kitten, and took up her home in the house. Search revealed two additional kittens which were as ugly as the mother; these she had deserted in order to bring her beautiful offspring to the attention of the family!

Miss Ada Boshell, who recently rounded out the fiftieth year of her career on the stage, is said to hold the American record for continuous service behind the footlights. During the fifty years she has appeared in 547 different rôles.

Canada's new transcontinental railway, the Grand Trunk Pacific, is keeping Canada's northwestern boom going. The town site of Prince George, a divisional point on the railway, was recently put on the market, and in one day 284 lots were sold for $420,000.

A German statistician, Dr. Karl Helfferich, estimates the wealth of leading nations thus: United States, $124,000,000,000; Germany, $78,000,000,000; France, $60,000,000,000; England, $57,000,000,000. In estimating the per capita wealth, however, his order is: France, the United States, England, Germany.

"That's good; mobled queen is good." These words of Polonius to Hamlet have recently roused a small controversy among Shakespearean critics. Mr. E. S. Sothern, the actor, thought the word should be "ennobled," but has been dissuaded by the scholars from using the word in presenting the play. The word "mobled" sounds odd to most of us, as it did to Polonius; and what more natural than to question it? If Shakespeare had written "ennobled," he would hardly have made Polonius say, "That's good."

Sing Sing and Auburn Prisons have taken a step toward enlightened methods in the treatment of criminals. They have abolished the dark cell as a means of discipline.

"Please take care of me. I am going to my mamma. Please do not kiss me." This placard, in several languages, pinned to the dress of four-year-old Margaretha Rischen's dress, has enabled that little miss to travel unkissed and content from her home in Vienna, Austria, to Kenwood, California. The placard's double appeal was irresistible.

A rare archæological find is reported from a province of ancient Scythia, near the Black Sea. Excavations in a burial mound disclosed the sarcophagus of a king. The skeleton was surrounded with valuable specimens of contemporary art, and by its side were two swords with hilts and sheaths of wrought gold. Huge silver vases found in the sarcophagus are specially valued because they bear bas-reliefs illustrating the daily life of the ancient Scythians.

"Safety first" is emphasized in a new timetable of the New York, New Haven, and Hart-

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ford Railroad. The changes will have the effect of lengthening the running time of many trains, mostly long-distance ones. The time of the limited trains between New York and Boston has been lengthened ten minutes.

Quails as a favorite article of Hebrew diet have been displaced, in New York City at least, by chickens. During the recent Jewish holidays seventy-five car-loads of chickens were sent to the city on one day to meet the demand.

The great era of discovery in the South Seas is brought to mind by the report that fragments of one of the ill-fated ships of La Perouse's expedition have been found at Vanikoro Island. La Perouse lost his ships and his life in 1788 at this island. The islanders are said still to possess relics of the ships in the shape of French coins dated prior to the sailing of the expedition

Somehow one thinks of Germany as being so well ordered that life and property must always be safe there. And yet—an expert mechanic, says "Popular Electricity," has invented a device to protect automobile tourists from the desperate highwaymen who stretch a stout rope across a road as an effective means of stopping the car so that they may rob the occupants. The device either breaks the rope or causes it to pass above the car.

The "Railway Age Gazette" publishes this item: "Special Despatch from Our Special Correspondent.—On Monday, September 1, for the first time in forty-four years, Charles S. Mellen, ex-president of the New Haven, paid his fare on a railroad, going west from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to New York."

The Pont Neuf, or "New Bridge," of Paris is more than three hundred years old. The bridge was so well built that it has needed extensive repairs only once. It has recently been successfully subjected to a remarkable engineering operation by which electric conduits have been introduced into a trench cut through the mass of its masonry by means of wire saws.

In the city of Tokyo, Japan, forty daily newspapers are printed, so a trade journal informs us, while in all Japan there are about eight hundred dailies. One of these has a circulation of 100,000 copies.

To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance on business life an English publisher and printer, Mr. Walter Hazell, recently gave $25,000 to form a trust fund for the benefit of his employees. In addition, all employees who had been with his firm for twenty-five years received a bonus of four weeks' wages.

Is there anything in graphology, the "science of reading character through handwriting"? A writer in the "Scientific American" thinks there is. Some people also think there is a good deal in that other pseudo-science of palmistry—but as to this latter a curious light is given in Paine's biography of Mark Twain, to the effect that several professors of chiromancy to whom an impression of the famous author's hand was submitted united in declaring that he had no humor!

The story of the philanthropist who rang the door-bell for the little boy and was then advised to run for his life has a counterpart in this from an exchange: "A little girl, found weeping in the street, confided to a sympathetic passer-by that she had lost a penny. Search for the missing treasure proving useless, the passer-by produced another penny. 'Oh!' breathed the child, in shocked accents, 'and did you have it all the time?'"

"Is it a fact," questions an inquiring friend, "that Madame Modjeska, the Polish actress, once moved an audience to tears by an emotional rendering of the Polish alphabet?" We do not know that the Polish alphabet is more capable than that of other languages of being the vehicle of emotion; but any syllables may express feeling, and when uttered by an accomplished speaker may rouse deep emotion. It was a common "stunt" for the peripatetic American "elocutionist" of a generation ago to recite the English alphabet first in a way to draw tears and then inextinguishable laughter from his audience; and Madame Modjeska may on occasion have done the same thing.

Montague Glass, whose "Potash and Perlmutter" stories have, in their dramatized form, been one of Broadway's successes, doesn't like the theatrical life. "In the two short months of my dramatic career," he complains, "I've ruined my digestion, acquired insomnia, and been sued for $10,000 damages. . . . I mean to continue writing stories."

"War among civilized nations," says David Starr Jordan, "will vanish within the century." The fact that this prophecy appears in the pages of "Life" does not mean that the author intends it to be regarded as a joke.

Ears, it is reported from Paris, are coming into fashion again. Those highly convenient and not unornamental appendages to the feminine head have latterly been concealed by wearing the hair low, but the kaleidoscope of fashion has taken a new turn and they are again to be seen and perchance admired.

Tolstoy's letters to his wife, just published, begin with his proposal of marriage, which for some reason he preferred not to make verbally. He asked his prospective wife to say Yes "with your whole soul. Better No if you have the shadow of a doubt. It would be dreadful for me to hear No, but I would find the strength to support it." Somehow it seems that these negative suppositions should have led the lady to suggest a personal interview; but perhaps that was not the Russian custom.

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